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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1922

THE CONVOCATION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Dated the 18th March, 1922

THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

In December last, I received at the hands of the Vice-Chancellor a certificate admitting me to the honorary degree of a Doctorship of Literature of this University. I had no opportunity, at the time, of giving expression to my feelings of gratification at this signal mark of approbation on the part of the University. I do so now ; and I would add that the pleasure which I experienced in receiving it was appreciably enhanced by the words of commendation from your Vice-Chancellor which accompanied it. It so happens that it now falls to my lot to make, on behalf of a number of the Scholars of this University, a presentation to the Vice-Chancellor. Let me explain. In the year 1919 Sir Asutosh Mookerjee completed the 25th year of his Doctorate ; and it occurred to a number of those who were personally acquainted with his splendid work for the University that the occasion was a fitting one for commemorating it.

A committee of eminent scholars was accordingly formed, under the presidentship of Dr. Henry Stephen, to consider the best means of giving effect to this desire. And it was decided to arrange for the preparation of a set of volumes, in three main divisions, dealing with Arts and Letters, Science, and Orientalia, to be presented to him as a tribute of respect, affection, admiration and gratitude. These volumes, some of which are completed and the remainder of which are nearing completion, will consist of a collection of original essays, contributed mainly, but not exclusively, by members of the University. Volume I, consisting of 27 articles, is devoted to Arts and Letters; Volume II, in two parts, is devoted to Science; Volume III, in three parts, consisting in all of 101 articles, is devoted to Orientalia; and Volume IV is a contribution by certain members of the University Law College dealing with the work of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as a Judge of the High Court. These Silver Jubilee volumes will, consequently, constitute a unique collection of the contributions to learning of members of the University which, far more than any other individual, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been responsible for converting from a mere examining board into an active centre of teaching and research. No more suitable form could have been found for a gift designed to commemorate his great and peculiar services to the cause of education and learning in this country.

It is gratifying to find that, with the passage of years, his energy and enthusiasm remain unabated. The scheme drawn up by him in connection with the recent Khaira endowment provides an example. He will, doubtless, refer to this endowment, which has resulted in an addition to the teaching staff of the University of five chairs in Indian Fine Arts, in Phonetics, in Physics, in Chemistry and in Agriculture. But there is another endowment of recent date which bears witness to his continued enthusiasm, which he will probably pass over in silence. I refer to an endowment

made by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself in April last, with a view to providing a gold medal, to be bestowed once in every two years, upon the individual deemed by the Syndicate to be most eminent for original contribution to letters or science, written in the Bengali language. The medal, under the title of the Jagattarini Medal, has already been awarded for the year 1921 to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, to whom I had the pleasure and privilege to hand it over just now; he is, perhaps, the most brilliant writer in Bengali since the days when the famous novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterji pricked the bubble of its inferiority as a living language, to Sanskrit, and secured for it its rightful place among the cultured languages of the day. The creation of this endowment, in memory of his mother, inevitably recalls a similar endowment, created more than twenty years ago, in memory of his father, for the encouragement of the study of chemistry and physics.

But the greatest landmark in the history of the University in recent years is undoubtedly the creation of the Council of Post-graduate Studies. As Rector of the University at the time, I gave the scheme my whole-hearted support, because it seemed to me that it was calculated to establish in Calcutta, under the auspices of the University, a real centre of learning and research, and to do much by resuscitating interest in the ancient culture of the country to stimulate thought on lines congenial to the particular genius of the Indo-Aryan race. I had in mind famous Indian Universities of a past age, such, for example, as Nalanda which, if we may believe the Chinese pilgrims who visited it in the 7th century A.D., was a famous centre of learning, at which were congregated 10,000 students, and the examinations at which were so exacting that, though learned men flocked to its doors from different cities, those who failed to pass its tests, as compared with those who succeeded, were as 7 or 8 to 10—a centre of learning, moreover, where the day was found to be all too short for the asking and

answering of profound questions and where discussion proceeded from morning until night. And I had visions of a modern Nalanda growing up in this the greatest and most populous city of the Indian Empire. Curiously enough, it is precisely the post-graduate department of the University which seems to be exciting the most adverse criticism of the Indian public at the present time. The reason, I think, is not far to seek. Post-graduate work is necessarily costly. And, in these days of fierce economic strain, we need not be surprised if the average man who has sons to educate, thinks a great deal of the necessity of securing for them an education fitting them to obtain lucrative employment, and very little of the advancement of learning purely for learning's sake. He asks himself, in all probability, why a not inconsiderable part of the revenue derived from under-graduates' fees should be devoted to providing a high cultural education to a comparatively limited number of students; and I confess that the present financial circumstances of the University are such as to give stimulus to such questions. One-third of the fee fund is allocated to post-graduate teaching under the rules, and the Senate has the right of increasing this amount—a right which it has recently exercised to an increasing extent. And while it is true that the post-graduate department of the University is solvent in consequence, it is also unfortunately true that the other departments of the University are faced with a deficit. The view which I have attributed to the average man with sons who do not aspire to proceed beyond the ordinary degrees is one which it is quite easy to understand, though I think myself that it is a somewhat narrow one. It assumes that the work of the post-graduate department is carried on for the exclusive benefit of the limited number of persons who partake of it.

* Such a view is surely not tenable. The results of post-graduate work react upon the country as a whole. It is this department of the University which is charged with the duty,

which many would describe as the supreme duty of a university, namely, that of adding to the sum-total of human knowledge. It must not be forgotten that discoveries in science, for example, may result in enormously increasing the wealth of a nation. Moreover, I do not think that any nation can take a leading place among the foremost peoples of the world unless it is in a position to make its contribution to the progress of human thought. No nation can live solely upon the achievements of its past or upon its borrowings from others and, at the same time, hope to retain its place among the great peoples of the earth.

On the other hand, while I hold this view, I am not disposed to deny that in a poor country, there are obvious limits to the extent to which such studies can reasonably be financed by public funds. The Legislature will, I hope, be prepared to make some additional contribution towards the University in its present difficulties. But the Legislature itself, with extremely exiguous resources, is faced with many urgent demands. And under these circumstances, it appears to me that the University may have to consider whether it is bound to provide post-graduate teaching in every subject in which it is prepared to examine and confer awards or whether, following the precedent set by such universities as Oxford in Great Britain, it should not expect students of very special subjects to make their own arrangements for the greater part of their studies.

I have made these observations, not by way of criticism, but because, in my dual capacity of Chancellor of the University and Governor of the Province, I am in a position to see the matter from two different points of view. And I have been emboldened to give expression to them in the hope that the Legislature will not lose sight of the importance of post-graduate work in shaping the future of Bengal, and that the University will consider whether, in view of the straitened financial circumstances of the

times, it may not prove possible, without impairing the work of the post-graduate department, to prosecute it at a somewhat smaller expenditure from University funds.

This is the last occasion which I shall have to address you; and I take the opportunity therefore of bidding you farewell. Both the University and the student community of Bengal occupy a warm corner in my heart. During the past five years, I have visited, I believe, almost every college in the Province, and I have been moved to admiration for the patient industry and quick responsiveness of their students. A rapidly expanding vista is opening out before the young men of this country. I shall watch with close interest and with unabated sympathy the part played by the students of to-day in the making of the Bengal of to-morrow. And if, as their sincere well-wisher, I may be permitted to add to my good wishes one word of advice, it would be this. Strive to cultivate the habit of bringing a critical faculty to bear upon all your undertakings, so that you acquire a habit of mind which will act as a check upon the impulsive enthusiasm, amounting at times to an emotional abandon; which, as it seems to me, is at once the most lovable and the most dangerous characteristic of the Bengali temperament. May you prosper!

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

My first words on the present occasion must be expressive of my deep gratitude to Your Excellency for the appreciative terms in which you have referred to my association with my *alma mater*—an association which has already covered a long eventful period of more than a third of a century. But what is uppermost in my mind, at the present moment, as it is, I believe, in the mind of every member of this distinguished assembly, is our keen regret that we shall no longer enjoy the advantage of the wise and far-sighted guidance of so accomplished a scholar and an administrator as Your Excellency, in the performance of our difficult task of reconstruction. At the same time, we respectfully venture to express the hope that however exalted the sphere of your future activities, you may continue to watch with unabated sympathy and interest the evolution of this University.

It has been customary for the Vice-Chancellor, at our annual Convocation for conferment of Degrees, to avail himself of the opportunity to review the academic work of the University during the preceding session. I trust, I may claim your indulgent consideration if I depart, in some measure, from this time-honoured practice and take a wider survey of the educational problems which now arrest our attention.

It has always appeared to me to be a singular circumstance that the origin and the development of this University in successive stages should have taken place during periods of grave political excitement. We were called into existence in the year of the great Mutiny when the flames of rebellion were still unquenched, and the times might have been deemed scarcely suited to educational advancement, except by administrators remarkable for their persistent energy and generous

impulses. We were, however, created as a merely examining corporation, with the inevitable consequence that not many years had elapsed before an enthusiastic, though unsuccessful, movement was set up under the wise leadership of one of our most brilliant graduates, the late Mr. Anandamohan Bose, to approach the Government with a request that the organisation might be transformed into a Teaching University. But, as has happened not infrequently in the history of institutions, what was then summarily rejected as a paradox, later became an axiomatic truth, and in 1904 when the Indian Universities Act came to be passed, it was ordained that all the Indian Universities should be deemed to have been established for the promotion of study and research, with authority to appoint Professors and Lecturers for the instruction of students and to erect, equip and maintain University libraries, laboratories and museums. This was, in any event, one redeeming feature of the constructive attempt made by our distinguished Chancellor, Lord Curzon, to effectuate the reform of the Indian Universities.

I recall with pleasure the day ever memorable to me when, now sixteen years ago, I was invited by Lord Minto to undertake what has proved to be the gigantic task of reconstruction of the University. I recall also the magnitude and intensity of the political excitement which had, at that period, penetrated into the remotest corners of the land, and added considerably to the intrinsic difficulties of educational reform under the most embarrassing circumstances. The momentum of progress was, however, irresistible, and by the time that I relinquished office after an unprecedentedly long term of eight years, foundation had been laid on a generous scale for the ultimate establishment of a great Teaching and Research University in what was once the capital of the British Empire in India. Little did I dream at the time that I might be summoned again to undertake the increasingly difficult task of reshaping my

University, and this must have been the opinion of so far-sighted and sympathetic a statesman as Lord Hardinge himself, when he sent his message of regret at his absence from that academic function where he thought it would be my duty for the last time to address the Convocation as Vice-Chancellor. But man proposes and God disposes. One of the greatest surprises of my life happened on the day when a year ago I was summoned by Your Excellency and was informed with the utmost cordiality and graciousness that both Lord Chelmsford, who was then our Chancellor, and Your Excellency yourself as our Rector, desired that I should again undertake the responsibilities of office. Refusal was impossible, yet it is needless to emphasise that I did not expect to be installed in a throne of diamonds. No one was more conscious than myself of the perils of the situation, visible and invisible, and I keenly realised that we might have to live through stormy times, specially as changes of a fundamental character had been accomplished in the field of our educational activities in the interval of seven years.

Let me remind you that in 1916, Lord Chelmsford appointed a representative Committee to advise the Government of India on the best method of early consolidation of Post-Graduate studies. The Committee, over whose deliberations I was called upon to preside, included scholars and administrators of distinction, such as Professor Praphullachandra Roy, Professor Brajendranath Seal, Professor Hamilton, Principal Howells, Dr. Henry Hayden, Mr. Hornell, Mr. Anderson and Mr. Wordsworth. They unanimously presented an elaborate scheme of reconstruction. The Government of India, which then included Sir Sankaran Nair, that sturdy champion of freedom and equality in the sphere of high education, expressed their approval of the report. Lord Carmichael, then Rector of the University, added the weighty authority of his judgment and experience in favour of the recommendations. After a protracted debate, the Senate not only adopted the principle

formulated in the report, but also framed Regulations with a view to carry it into immediate execution. Here it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge that Your Excellency, on assumption of the office of Rector, approached the problem with an open mind, and after independent examination, arrived at the conclusion that the new system proposed to be inaugurated by the Senate was sound in principle and merited support. The result was that on the 26th June, 1917, the Government of India accorded their sanction to the Regulations for Post-Graduate Teaching in various branches of Arts and Science.

This marks a new stage, a new epoch, in the history of the foundation and development of a great Teaching and Research University in Calcutta. It is needless for me, indeed, it would be unwise for me, to recall here the bitter controversies which we had to face in the course of our strenuous struggle in taking this new step forward on the way to our coveted goal. But I desire it to be remembered that this fresh advancement was a most deliberate act on the part of the Senate of this University, undertaken after prolonged discussion, approved by two successive Rectors, and finally confirmed by the Supreme Government in the land after the most careful and searching enquiry. It would, I further venture to think, be far from right to overlook or ignore the undeniable fact that the principle of co-operation between the Colleges and the University for the development of the highest instruction of the best intellects amongst the youth of Bengal, has received recognition from the University Commission as the true basis of a fruitful synthesis between a great Teaching and Research University and the Colleges included within its sphere of influence.

Untoward Fate, which had caused the deepest embarrassment to us when the first attempts were made to create a Teaching and Research University, however, followed us with unflinching step and reappeared on the scene precisely at

this juncture. Disasters in connection with examinations, and the creation of new Universities and other educational organisations within our jurisdiction, which restricted the territorial sphere of our activities and tended to cripple our financial resources, followed in quick succession, just when our new responsibilities, which could not be declined, were steadily on the increase. At the same time, while the greatest of wars in modern history, though happily concluded, overturned the finances of the most firmly established Governments throughout the civilised world, the introduction of new reforms in our administrative system unsettled, in this presidency at least, the calculations of the wisest of financiers. To crown all, political excitement of a formidable character saturated youthful minds at the most impressionable period of their lives, seriously affected their discipline, shook to the foundations their faith in established law and order, and like a whirlwind swept them away from the peaceful avocations of the scholar. To shoulder the responsibility of management, at so critical a period in the life of a great University, steadily developing and expanding, was a manifestly hazardous adventure, which possibly illustrates the hypothesis that the greater the peril of the task, the more attractive the performance of the duty. But we feel encouraged by the assurance of the philosophic historian that we are about to turn, if we have not already turned, a new page in the history of civilisation. We see on all sides unmistakable signs of the pulsation of new life, of new hopes, of new aspirations, in all spheres of human activity. In this struggle for the progress of the race, India will take an honourable position, and her destiny will be brightened, only if we are able to provide in abundance education of the highest type for the children of this generation and of generations yet unborn. In the accomplishment of this noble task, the University of Calcutta, still the foremost amongst the Universities of the Indian Continent, may rightly be expected to be the leader and

the path-finder. I cordially invite all citizens of this enlightened province to study with anxious care the history of the foundation of a Teaching and Research University in Calcutta, to acquaint themselves in detail with its present condition, and to form a sound and an impartial judgment as to the strength and value of its equipments as instruments of our national progress. Meanwhile, let me ask you to bear with me patiently for an instant while I refer to some of these equipments in the briefest outline and tell you what measure of success has attended our humble efforts to lay the foundations of a Teaching and Research University which may yet be the pride not only of Bengal, but of all India.

In fulfilment of the obligation imposed by the new Regulations on the University authorities to provide for Post-Graduate study and research in the Faculties of Arts and Science, they had to arrange for work in twenty distinct departments of knowledge, namely, in English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Indian Vernaculars, Comparative Philology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, History, Political Economy and Political Philosophy, Commerce, Pure Mathematics, Applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physiology, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Experimental Psychology, and Anthropology. The bare enumeration of the titles of so many branches of knowledge may, perhaps, alarm even those that profess to appreciate the vital need for broad-based education amongst a people advancing with rapid strides; on the other hand, the scope of the activities of our University has appeared unduly restricted in the eyes of those who have intelligently studied the conditions prevailing in the great centres of high education in western countries, and more particularly the astonishing developments which have there taken place in recent years. I need not dwell at length on the importance of adequate provision for instruction in each of these topics in a University designed to satisfy the needs of a progressive community. It is sufficient to say that all of them have

attracted students of the best type. Criticism, however, has been directed against departments where the students are necessarily limited in number, and it has been urged almost in a spirit of complaint that it is colossal folly to provide for instruction in subjects of this character. Let me illustrate the point by reference to one branch which, I doubt not, will enlist the sympathetic support of every true Indian, I mean, the subject of Sanskrit studies. I cannot help quoting a remarkable passage from the impressive address delivered by Your Excellency at the last Annual Convocation. "Surely you must be proud of the splendid attempt which is being made here to render to Indian civilization and culture the homage which is its due. Teaching of the highest order along with research work by Indian scholars of repute is being carried on in a number of branches of higher Sanskrit, which in themselves cover a wide field of Ancient Indian Learning." This appreciation presents a strange contrast to the remarkable ignorance of the importance as also the extent and variety of Sanskrit learning which pervades, I regret to think, the minds of a certain section of Indians who, blinded by the dazzling glamour of the west, have forgotten the noble traditions of the east. A reference to the University Regulations will satisfy the most superficial observer that in the Department of Sanskrit, provision has had to be made in as many as nine groups of subjects, namely, Literature, Vedas, Law and Science of Interpretation, Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga, Nyaya and Vaishesik, General Philosophy, Prakrit and Epigraphy. The truth is, as I had once occasion to remark, that the term Sanskrit, though composed only of eight letters, connotes in the domain of knowledge an empire by itself. A similar observation applies, though to a limited extent, in the department of Pali studies, which, as Your Excellency rightly observed, embrace "the far-reaching field of Buddhistic studies." Here, again, provision has had to be made for at least four groups, Literary,

Philosophical, Epigraphic and Mahajanica. Nor have we ignored the claims of Islamic studies including Theology, Philosophy, Literature, Rhetoric, Poetics, Grammar and Science.

I cannot pass over in silence the arrangements made by the University for the encouragement of Tibetan studies. No other University in India affords regular facility for the study of Tibetan, although it is of the greatest importance for the reconstruction of the history of Indian civilisation during the first thousand years of the Christian era. As has been repeatedly pointed out by eminent scholars, during that period of Indian History—one of the darkest in her annals—thousands of Sanskrit books were carried away into the fastnesses of the Tibetan mountains by Indian Pandits and were translated into Tibetan by learned Lamas. These are still preserved in Tibet as the memorials of Indian civilisation, although the originals have completely disappeared from the country of their birth. Amongst our scholars, there have been only two, who penetrated into this region of work—the late Saratchandra Das and the late Satischandra Vidyabhusan. It was with considerable difficulty that the University could make even an humble beginning in this sphere of study. Major Campbell, the political officer at Sikkim, himself a Tibetan scholar of repute, was induced to interest himself in this matter, and through his intervention, the Dalai Lama was prevailed upon to send out to our University one of the profoundest scholars of Tibet—Geshe Lobzang Targe. But after the lamentable death of Satischandra Vidyabhusan, the Geshe returned to the land of his birth, as he could not find scholars here with whom he could carry on discussion on equal terms. We have, however, secured the services of two other Lamas of considerable attainments for the benefit of our advanced students. Our rich collection of Tibetan block-prints and manuscripts, which includes the remnant of the valuable library of the late Sarat Chandra Das received as a gift from his son, has also

been recently replenished by the addition of more than one hundred volumes which cover forty thousand pages and include treatises on History, Logic, Philosophy, Grammar, Medicine, Astrology, Dogma and various other branches of learning. This unique collection has been secured for us by the well-known Tibetan scholar, Mr. John Van Mannen, and will make accessible for the first time many a valuable work; never before placed within the reach of modern scholars resident beyond the limits of Tibet. Closely connected with our activities in this field is the study of Chinese and Japanese, which has been placed in charge of two distinguished scholars from Japan.

Let me next pass on to the department of History. The very mention of this subject recalls to my mind the severe loss we have sustained by reason of the tragic death of Professor Jogendra Nath Dasgupta, far from his native land and on foreign soil, where he had been sent as one of a distinguished band of University Teachers to represent us in the Congress of the Universities of the Empire. He was intimately associated with the work of the University in various spheres of useful activity for more than thirty years, and his services will long be held in affectionate remembrance. Our department of History has to be considered in its two great sub-divisions, namely, the department of General History and the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In the General Department, provision has been made for intensive study, with reference to original sources, of such fascinating subjects as the History of England during the reign of Queen Victoria, the History of India from the birth of the Buddha to the advent of Mahomedan invaders, the History of the Ancient East, the Constitutional History of England, the History and Principles of International Law, the History of Islam and Islamic Civilisation, the History of Bengal, political, administrative, social and economic from the Battle of Plassey to the

Permanent Settlement, the History of the Rajputs from the advent of the Mahomedans to the Treaty with the British Government, the History of the Mahrattas, the History of the Sikhs, the Economic History of England and India, the Principles of Comparative Politics, the History of the French Revolution, the principles of Indian Ethnography and Ethnology, the Modern History of China and Japan, and the Constitutional History of British India and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas. Magnificent opportunities of this description, calculated to awaken the intelligence of the present generation of students in Bengal, were not within the reach of those who received their education quarter of a century ago. Well may the question be asked whether it is not desirable that the students of the present day should possess an accurate knowledge of the conditions which led to the rise, growth and decay of different sections of the Indian nation, such as the Rajputs, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs. Well may the question be put further, whether it is not desirable that students should have an intelligent appreciation of the conditions which rendered it possible for the patriotic statesmen of China and Japan to vitalise, to modernize and to reconstruct their ancient civilisations. Well may the question be put, again, whether students should not have an opportunity to study subjects like Indian Ethnology and the French Revolution, when race problems and revolutionary ideals face us in every direction.

Let me now turn for a moment to that division of History which is concerned with Ancient Indian History and Culture. It is the unique triumph of this University that it was the first, here or elsewhere, to establish a Chair devoted exclusively for the promotion of study and research in Ancient Indian History and Culture; and it was also the first seat of learning where the highest degree in the Faculty of Arts could be earned as the result of competent knowledge of

the subject, which must be captivating to all truly patriotic Indians. In this department, every student is required to receive instruction in the general history of Vedic and Epic India, the political history of the Post-Epic period and the historical geography of Ancient India. In addition to these obligatory topics, every student is required to make a choice out of five divisions, which may be described as Archæology, Social and Constitutional History, Religious History, Mathematics and Astronomy, and Racial and Ethnographic History. Enormous are the difficulties of students and lecturers, particularly because there are so few text books on these branches; indeed, they have never received the compliment of recognition as regular subjects of study in any seat of learning. The materials in use have been collected from a variety of sources, many of them neither easily accessible, nor even systematically explored. It is my pleasant duty to mention here that through the liberality of Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy, supplemented by a generous grant from Sir John Marshall, Professor Bhandarkar and his assistants will shortly be in a position to undertake excavation work in classic Varendra land. Thus, for the first time in the history of high education in British India, has the attempt been made by our University to impart instruction to students in Indian Epigraphy, Indian Fine Arts, Indian Iconography, Indian Coinage, Indian Palæography, Indian Architecture, Indian Economic life, Indian Social life, Indian Administration, Indian Religions, Indian Astronomy, Indian Mathematics, and Indian Race Origin. If a similar attempt had been made in any other civilized country in regard to its ancient institutions, I doubt not the endeavour would have received not merely sympathetic consideration, but also active support and generous help from all quarters. Here, on the other hand, recognition is slow to come. But, nevertheless, we feel encouraged from time to time when eminent critics, so sagacious and impartial, as Professor Foucher, Dr. Thomas and last but not the least,

Professor Sylvain Levi generously come forward publicly to recognise our efforts to wake up an interest in these neglected fields and to carry the horizon of India beyond present India, though we have not yet succeeded to bring these newly recovered domains in real contact with our traditional and classical teaching.

It is distinctly unfortunate that we should be blamed for the arrangements we have made for those very subjects which are indispensable for study and research in a truly national University. Let me turn for a moment to that great department of Indian Vernaculars which is a special feature of our University and which should constitute its chief glory in the eyes of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens. In 1919, the University, with the sanction of the Government of India, opened its department of Indian Vernaculars. For the first time in the history of Indian Universities, it thus became possible for a person to take the highest University degree on the basis of his knowledge of his mother tongue. The fundamental principle which lies at the root of the new Regulations, is that a student should possess a knowledge of two Vernaculars, namely, a thorough knowledge of his mother tongue and a less comprehensive knowledge of a second Vernacular. The student is also required to obtain a working acquaintance with two of the languages which have formed the foundation of the Indian Vernaculars, such as Pali, Prakrit, and Persian. The languages which have already been recognised as principal languages, are Bengali, Hindi, Guzrati and Oriya. The languages which have been recognised as subsidiary languages are Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, Maithili, Guzrati, Mahratti, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, Malayalam, and Sinhalese. The basic languages include Pali, Prakrit and Persian. Besides these, the student has to acquire a comparative knowledge of the Philology of his Vernacular. There is no other University in India where facilities are provided for the cultivation of the Indian Vernaculars on so

extensive a scale. But let me ask whether this would have been possible, unless the University had a department of Pali which included learned Sinhalese monks, a department of Sanskrit which included a Prakritist professing the Jain religion, a department of Islamic studies which included Persian scholars, a department of Comparative Philology which included a Guzrati scholar, a department of History which included a Mahratta scholar, a department of Economics which included a Telegu scholar, and a department of Anthropology which included a Tamil and Malayalam scholar. It is because the University now comprises men of high intellectual attainments in so many branches of human knowledge, it is because the University has broken through the barriers of narrow provincialism, it is because of this combination of talents recruited from all parts of India that it has become possible to open the new department of Indian Vernaculars.

The University has further organised a scheme for the preparation and publication of volumes of typical selections in all the Indian Vernaculars from the earliest stages of their development to modern times. About a dozen years ago, we invited Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen to prepare typical selections in Bengali. Two splendid volumes were published by the University eight years ago, giving specimens of Bengali from the earliest old manuscripts as also from printed works down to the middle of the 19th century. The preparation of selections in other vernaculars, similar in scope, has been undertaken by the University, and scholars from different parts of India have gladly accepted our invitation to collaborate in the accomplishment of this great national task. The first volume of the typical selections in Oriya as also that of the selections in Hindi have been printed and published, while considerable progress has been made in the cases of other languages. It is extremely gratifying that several men of culture have come forward

to the assistance of the University. The Maharaja of Sonapur, one of the Feudatory Chiefs of Orissa, has generously contributed to the cost of publication of the Oriya selections. The Holker of Indore has expressed his readiness to associate himself with the publication of the Mahratti selections. Mr. R. D. Mehta, a distinguished citizen of Calcutta, has contributed a substantial amount towards the cost of publication of the selections from the Zendavesta. Mr. Bholanath Barooah, one of the most enlightened sons of Assam, has offered a handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 to meet the cost of publication of the Assamese selections. It also redounds to the credit of cultured men beyond the limits of Calcutta that some, at any rate, amongst them have recognised the value of the work undertaken by the University. Mr. Sanatkumar Mookerjee has presented to us a large and valuable collection of Bengali manuscripts which will furnish an extensive field for research in the domain of Indian Vernaculars. Mr. Tankanath Chaudhuri of Dinajpur is maintaining a lectureship in Maithili, while Raja Kirtyanand Singh and his cosharers are maintaining the Banali-Srinagar lectureship for research work in Maithili; Mr. Gopaldas Chaudhuri of Mymensingh is maintaining a lectureship in Bengali; and the Maharaja of Sonapur has provided funds for the maintenance of a lectureship in Oriya.

But surely, the University does require liberal assistance on a far more extensive scale for these and similar activities. Do not our people appreciate the full significance of this great movement? Do they not realise what part the Indian Vernaculars must play if India is again to take her place among the great nations of the world? Are they not aware that in many departments of human thought, where India had in the past occupied a distinguished position, a determined effort has been made by narrow-minded and unsympathetic scholars to dethrone her from the position of honour? Are they not aware, for instance, that for many years past, a steady

movement has been in progress to establish that Indians had no originality in the departments of Science, Mathematics and Astronomy and that the University has not only entrusted its lecturers with the task of exploration of these subjects, but had even sent out one of them at its own expense to collect manuscripts and other materials from the remotest corners of the country? Are not our people aware, again, that a desperate effort has been made to establish that Indian Art owes its origin to the Greeks and that the University maintains lecturers to examine the foundations of this extraordinary hypothesis? Are they not aware that even so cautious a scholar as the late Professor Vincent Smith boldly enunciated the theory that India was not fit for self-government, because representative institutions had no existence in ancient India, and that this theory, astonishing as it was in its departure from truth, was demolished by scholars, amongst others like Devadatta Bhandarkar, Kashiprasad Jayaswal, Radhakumud Mookerjee, Rameshchandra Majumdar and Narendranath Law, who have had opportunities or encouragement afforded to them by this University to carry on original research in the domain of Indian History? Blame us not if we deem it inconsistent with true national consciousness that the first and last words, the final and definitive judgments on Indian Civilisation should be pronounced in intellectual centres far beyond the limits of our motherland. Be it remembered in this connection that the attempt to modernise the East by the importation of western culture in our midst, to the complete supersession of our native ideals, has proved a failure. The Indian Universities have not yet been able to take root in the life of the nation, because they have been exotics. India was and is civilised. Western civilisation, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede, much less be permitted to destroy the vital elements of our civilisation. I claim that in no other University in India has this view been realised and carried into effect as has been done in Calcutta.

It is impracticable for me within the limits of the time at my disposal to convey to you even an inadequate impression of the activities of the University in other important subjects in the Department of Letters, such as English, Philosophy, Economics and Commerce, which have roused the intellectual curiosity of many an enthusiastic student. We have utilised our splendid staff in the Department of English to deal with the subject in a comprehensive manner as well from the literary as from the linguistic standpoint. But what is of more vital importance, we have recognised the value of English as a world language, as a powerful medium for the comparative study of the most remarkable exponents of diverse types of civilisation. We have employed our brilliant staff in the Department of Philosophy to expound adequately the doctrines of the chief schools of philosophical thought, ancient, mediæval and modern, in all their diverse phases; but what is of greater moment, we have been able, for the first time in the history of this University, to arrange for a comprehensive programme of instruction in every branch of Indian Philosophy with reference to original sources. It is undeniable that no Indian University can fully justify its existence as a true seat of national culture, unless it brings home to its students the solid contributions which were made in bygone days by Indian scholars to the solution of the eternal problems of mind and matter, of God and Man, and which, notwithstanding later developments in philosophic thought, still continue to evoke feelings of respect and admiration in every civilised centre of learning and culture. We have employed a distinguished band of teachers in the Department of Political Economy and Political Philosophy to cover a considerable tract of the territory comprised within the ever-widening domain of economic and commercial studies. We have arranged for special courses of lectures on topics of engrossing interest to the Indian citizen and publicist, such as Famines,

Co-operation, Railways, Industrial Organization, Currency Problems, Land Systems, Village Communities, Labour Questions, Statistical Methods and Forms of Government. To these we have added during the current session courses of lectures on commercial subjects, such as Accounting, Banking and Commercial Law. Well may we ask, how many of our educated countrymen have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the nature and scope of what has already been accomplished by the University in the way of Economic and Commercial studies, which are of such vital importance to the progress of the nation in this transitional age, when a new earth has to be shaped anew to the needs of men. This, at any rate, is patent that not one single individual, official or non-official, has yet volunteered to promote the work of the University even in these departments of study.

Before I pass on to the domain of what are usually regarded as scientific subjects, let me invite your attention to the activities of the University in two branches which are supposed to lie on the borderland of Letters and Science, I mean, Experimental Psychology and Anthropology. It is needless to emphasize the inestimable value, from a sociological standpoint, of the practical results likely to follow from the correlated study of these rapidly progressing, though apparently recondite, branches of knowledge, which have been investigated on an adequate scale only in the most advanced Universities of France, Germany, Italy and the United States. But I must press upon your attention the unquestionable importance of the work already undertaken and in part accomplished by members of these two departments. With the praiseworthy and unselfish co-operation of members of the medical profession, they are engaged in a systematic physical examination of our college students; three thousand have already been examined and the work is steadily in progress. The facts thus discovered as to the health of the students are of the most

alarming character, as will be apparent from even a superficial study of the Report already published by our Students' Welfare Committee. It may be confidently maintained that in any other country of the civilised world, work of this description, carried out by a University, would have forthwith arrested public attention and readily secured for that institution liberal assistance as well from the keepers of the public funds as from private benefactors.

Let me next describe to you in as intelligible a form as practicable the activities of the University in the direction of the organisation of scientific instruction and scientific research. We have steadily maintained two great departments of mathematical study and research, the one for Pure Mathematics, the other for Applied Mathematics, under the supervision of the respective Council of Post-Graduate Teaching. Adequate provision has been made, which has no parallel in an Indian University, for unfolding to our advanced students the mysteries of the most recondite developments in the region of higher mathematics, which are often intimately connected with the progress of the physical, chemical and biological sciences. The University College of Science and Technology thus comprehends within its scope all the exact sciences in their theoretical as well as practical aspects. But, let me frankly confess to you that the ideal which enraptured me in my student days, that my *alma mater* should afford ample opportunities of scientific study and research, is yet far removed from what may fairly be regarded as full and complete realisation. As an humble student of Science, I had not failed to realise that the chief debt of civilization to science was not merely material comfort, but also intellectual freedom and enlightenment, for while she plants her feet on the solid ground of Nature, her head moves amongst the stars. I had not been slow to appreciate the cardinal truth that the aim of science is to know and control Nature, not merely that man may obtain

the golden touch and that all things may be made to minister to his ease, but also that he may know the Truth and that the Truth may set him free from the bondage of superstition and a slavish regard for authority. It was in the belief that Science had proclaimed intellectual emancipation and enormously enlarged the entire field of human thought, that Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, one of the truest sons of this University, devoted the best energies of his life to the foundation of an Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. It was in my deepest conviction that Science had unfettered the mind, enthroned reason, taught the duty and responsibility of independent thought, and brought to mankind the message of intellectual enlightenment and liberty, that I planned the foundation of a University College of Science and Technology, and approached for fulfilment of my cherished ambition two of the noblest sons of India, Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Bihary Ghose. With a generosity which has had no parallel in the history of education in British India, they gave away their wealth, not their inherited patrimony, not money amassed by the fortunes of speculation, but the savings of life-long toil as members of the legal profession. The magnificent endowments created by them have enabled us to maintain as many as eight University Professorships—Palit Chair of Chemistry, Palit Chair of Physics, Ghose Chair of Applied Mathematics, Ghose Chair of Chemistry, Ghose Chair of Physics, Ghose Chair of Botany, Ghose Chair of Applied Physics, and Ghose Chair of Applied Chemistry,—with research students attached to each Professor. Later on, it was my good fortune to approach, on behalf of my *alma mater*, Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira who placed in my hands the generous contribution of five and a half lacs of rupees for the promotion of higher studies in Letters as well as in Science. This has enabled us to maintain a Chair of Chemistry, a Chair of Physics, a Chair of Agriculture, besides a Chair of Indian

Fine Arts and a Chair of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics. To these must now be added the Travelling Fellowships founded by Sir Rash Bihary Ghose for the investigation of educational method abroad and the promotion of research in special branches of learning. We also maintain, out of our current income, a Chair in Botany and a Chair in Zoology. The University, with a restricted source of revenue and limited funds at its disposal, has nevertheless found it possible to contribute more than ten lacs of rupees out of the capital and recurring expenditure of sixteen lacs hitherto incurred in connection with the establishment and maintenance of the University College of Science and Technology. Well may one here stop and enquire, what about the guardians of the public treasury? We are grateful to them for permission to divert to the use of the College of Science a sum of one thousand rupees a month; which had been originally intended by them to be spent for other purposes. Beyond this, the custodians of the public funds, though repeatedly approached, have met the legitimate demands of the University with steady and persistent refusal. To me it is an unfathomable mystery that administrators in responsible positions should fail to be inspired to a sense of their paramount duty as servants of the people, even by the magnificent spectacle of self-sacrifice presented by the noble examples of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rash Bihary Ghose. And yet let it not be forgotten that in the Department of Science, perhaps even more than in the Department of Letters, University teachers and students have systematically carried out original investigations of acknowledged value. We have, indeed, made the University College of Science a nursery of young men of exceptional ability—mathematicians, physicists, chemists, botanists, zoologists—whose researches have been eagerly accepted for publication by scientific societies and in scientific periodicals in the foremost seats of learning in Europe, America and Japan.

But let me emphasize that though much has already been achieved, more still remains to be accomplished, specially in the direction of expansion of what may be called industrial studies. The opportunities of modern Universities are, indeed, much more comprehensive in this respect than they have ever been before in the civilised world. Industry and education will march forward, more and more, hand in hand, for this is pre-eminently a time to awaken industry and education alike. Industry in its many-sided interests will look to education for enlightenment and support, and out of the laboratories of the University will emanate in an ever-increasing measure the influences that make for economic and industrial improvement and contribute to the betterment of human living and to the good of mankind. I have in my mind particularly the development of technological studies in the broadest sense of that expression, not merely in the University, but also in hundreds of schools in the province where the students and teachers alike legitimately display a hopeful yearning for vocational training, unhappily not yet satisfied. One of the fundamental essentials for the success of a comprehensive scheme of this description, is the abundant supply of able and willing teachers. Let me add at once that such a development of the requisite type, which the University is willing to undertake, implies immediate financial assistance on a liberal scale for laboratories, museums, workshops, their equipment and maintenance. There are ample indications that the sources of private liberality have not yet been exhausted, for only recently a generous benefactor, Mr. Prankrishna Chatterjee, offered to make over to the University valuable property near Raneegunj as a nucleus for the establishment of a University School of Mines. The expansion, if not the initiation, of a great undertaking of this nature must, however, in a large measure be dependent upon adequate grants from the public funds, and precisely the same observation applies to the technological

and agricultural studies which the University is anxious to promote.

Let me assure you with all the emphasis and earnestness I can command that plans for University development, whether judged by work already accomplished or activities yet to be undertaken, have been neither casual nor accidental. They have their solid basis on the rock of a definite conception of the true function of the University in the life of the Nation. It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its walls the learning of the world in living exponents of scholarship, who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is equally incumbent upon the University, for the living present and its persistence in the future, to enlarge the boundaries of human learning and to give powerful aid to the advancement of knowledge by the development of creative capacity in those disciplines through which men seek for truth and strive after duty. It is further incumbent on the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of science and society, of government and public order, of knowledge and conduct. The University can achieve this object and contribute to the welfare of the people in freedom, health and wealth, if it sends forth streams of liberally educated men and women to be leaders of public opinion and to be practitioners in all the brain-working professions of our time, from law, medicine, engineering, teaching and commerce, to architecture, agriculture, banking, journalism and public administration. A University so designed for the service of the Nation in all possible phases of its development, cannot be restricted to a narrow or chosen teaching, much less starved altogether in its activities. It cannot be treated either as a great

scholastic sanctuary or as a glorified technical institute. In such a University, we cannot for instance, discard the claims of History and its interpretation as a laboratory to test all plans for political and social reforms. We cannot ignore Philosophy as a clearing house for all theories and methods of knowledge. We cannot ignore Letters as the record, in thoughts that breathe and words that burn, of all human striving after sweetness and light. We cannot ignore Art which is the flowering product of the creative imagination, ennobling and enriching the content of life. We cannot ignore Applied Science whose chief business is the development of the material resources of the world. We cannot ignore Economics whose cardinal problem is that of distribution of the wealth thus produced. Finally, we cannot ignore the Science of Education in whose philosophical, psychological and physiological foundations we now seek the surest means of training the intellect and stimulating the imagination of men.

To my mind the University is a great store-house of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training as well of men of thought as of men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the State for the conservation of knowledge, for the discovery of knowledge, for the distribution of knowledge, for the applications of knowledge, and above all, for the creation of knowledge-makers.

People of Bengal, you have at your doors, the foundations already laid of a great University, a University devoted to the advancement of Literature, Science and Art, to the promotion of Letters as the record of the achievements of the human spirit, to the promotion of Science as the revealer of the laws and the conqueror of the forces of Nature, to the promotion of Art as the sunshine and gilding of life, but more than all this, to the investigation of the glorious past of India and the fundamental unity, amidst apparent

diversity, of the varied aspects of Indian civilisation which is so deeply calculated to rouse and purify true national instinct and national pride. You have at your doors a society of scholars in whose company your children, your children's children and their children may spend formative years of their aspiring youth under the captivating influences of humane Letters and Pure and Applied Science, pursuing culture with forward-looking minds and far-seeing spirit. It is for you, People of Bengal, to determine whether you will make this University a national asset. We invite every citizen, conscious of his duty and responsibility, unmoved by ignorant and prejudiced criticism, to come forward to be united with us in feeling, in purpose, for the realisation of our vision of duty and of service. It has ever been our ambition to bring the University in intimate touch with the Nation, because of the supreme part that it must play in the national consciousness, pointing out by its attitude towards the things of life, through the whole wide range of human intelligence, the true direction of national safety and national progress. The University should thus be a live and progressive, not a passive and inactive force in the life of the community of which it is not only a part but a participant. The University would be dead to the Nation, if it were made to stand on a height of its own, isolated from the community. On the other hand, if the activities of the University were more and more assimilated with the life of the Nation, it might then be even more determinate as a teacher, and more dominant as a leader than it has ever been before.

While I emphasize this aspect of the mission of a University to new and better service of the community, let me assure you that I do not overlook a potent factor—the advent of democracy. A profound student of the history and philosophy of political institutions has observed that the weaknesses of a democracy are the opportunities of

education. I venture to think that there is food for thought in this enigmatical statement, because a democracy has its weakness as well as its strength. A great weakness in a democracy, uninformed and unenlightened, is the indifference that largely prevails to the paramount need ~~for~~ the broadest education of all grades amongst the people. And it is the business of the educator to recognise this weakness, to come down from his heights into the valleys, and to work in the light that has been given him for the extension of educational opportunities amongst the new democracy. That will make in the end for the salvation of his country. If we do not thus bring ourselves into intimate touch with the progress of national life, we shall have a Government of the many by the few instead of a Government by all, as is inherent in the very life of a democracy. Let us then adjust our activities so as to increase our influence as a potent instrument for fostering amongst the citizens of this land that passion for the discovery and dissemination of Truth, which is the condition of all sincerity of conduct and of all advancement of knowledge. If we succeed in this our mission, the New Democracy, proud and humble, patiently pressing forward, praising her heroes of old, training her future leaders, seeking her crown in a nobler race of men and women, will proclaim her confession of faith in the beautiful words of the poet :

“Faith in the worth of the smallest fact and the laws
that govern the star-beams,
Faith in the beauty of truth and the truth of perfect
beauty,
Faith in the God, who creates the souls of men, by
knowledge and love and worship.”

Tell me not that the task of such regeneration of our people through the path of education is supremely difficult of achievement, for unalterable is my faith in the lesson

taught by my preceptors in the stirring words of the poet:

“If thou canst plan a noble deed,
And never flag till it succeed,
Though in the strife thy heart must bleed ;
Whatever obstacles control,
Thine hour will come. Go on, true soul,
Thou’lt win the prize, thou’lt reach the goal.”

I call upon you to take this as your motto, and to join with me in a fervent prayer for the well-being of our motherland in the words of the message of our great national poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore :

চিত্ত যেথা ভয়শূন্য, উচ্চ যেথা শির,
জ্ঞান যেথা মুক্ত, যেথা গৃহের প্রাচীর
আপন প্রাঙ্গণতলে দিবস শৰ্ব্বরী
বন্ধধারে রাখে নাই খণ্ড ক্ষুদ্র করি’,
যেথা বাক্য হৃদয়ের উৎসমুখ হ’তে
উচ্ছ্রু সিয়া উঠে, যেথা নির্বাহিত শ্রোতে
দেশে দেশে দিশে দিশে কর্মধারা ধায়
অজস্র সহস্রবিধ চরিতার্থতায় ;

যেথা তুচ্ছ আচারের মরুবালুরাশি
বিচারের শ্রোতঃপথ ফেলে নাই গ্রাসি’,
পৌরুষেরে করেনি শতধা ; নিত্য যেথা
তুমি সর্ব কর্ম চিন্তা আনন্দের নেতা,—
নিজ হস্তে নির্দয় আঘাত করি’ পিতঃ
ভারতেরে সেই স্বর্গে কর জাগরিত ।

“Where the mind is without fear and the head is held
high ;
Where knowledge is free ;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls ;
Where words come out from the depth of truth ;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards
perfection ;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country
awake !”

THE REALITY OF ATOMIC STRUCTURE.¹

The rudiments of an atomic theory existed almost at the dawn of human thought. In early times, however, the idea that matter exists in separate particles or atoms was merely a speculation, and not the result of experiments or of the observation of facts. Although the history of philosophical speculation upon the nature of matter is interesting in so far as it reveals the methods of the human mind, it must be admitted that no real progress could be made until it became customary to verify speculation by experiment and to use experiment as an aid to speculation. Without discussing further the commencements of the atomic theory, we may remark that Robert Boyle came to the conclusion in 1661 as a result of his own experiments that matter is granular and not continuous; upon this he founded the so-called corpuscular theory. In putting forward this theory of the constitution of matter, Boyle's objects were to explain his experimental observations, to open up a road to new experimental discoveries and thereby to contribute to the increase of positive knowledge. In all these he was markedly successful.

During the eighteenth century, a vast number of experimental chemical observations were made. The interpretation of these facts proved that two kinds of

¹ Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture for 1921, delivered on the 15th December, 1921, at the Darbhanga Library Hall, by Sir William Jackson Pope, K.B.E., F.R.S., M.A., M.Sc.Tech., LL.D., D.Sc., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Cambridge.

matter can be distinguished, the one consisting of primitive materials, simple bodies or chemical elements, which now number more than a hundred, and the other including the multitudinous compound substances which result from the mutual combination of the elements. This conclusion, namely, that nature has furnished us with a small number of elementary materials, which by their combination produce innumerable compound substances still holds good; it is a worthy memorial to the activity, to the imagination, and to the logical methods of the older chemists.

The corpuscular theory was reinforced during the eighteenth century by the idea that a hypothetical element, phlogiston, should be regarded as taking part in chemical changes. The theory of phlogiston was not successful in directing chemistry towards a fertile field of development, and was finally overthrown by Lavoisier, who was the first to distinguish rationally between simple and compound bodies and to form a correct picture of the relations between matter and energy.

Nevertheless, towards the end of the eighteenth century, progress in chemistry commenced to wane; a new idea was needed to promote the development of experimental chemistry. The statement of the atomic theory by John Dalton in 1803 provided the necessary stimulus and furnished the chemist with a mental picture of chemical transformation which led to rapid developments in science. The atomic theory, as put forward by Dalton, states, briefly, that each element is composed of homogeneous atoms of which the weight is constant and that chemical compounds exist as molecules which result from the union of elementary atoms in simple numerical proportions; its great value arises less from any novelty of conception than from the fact that it introduced a method of describing chemical

conditions which facilitated progress. The atomic theory thus distracted attention from the discussions, up till then futile, concerning the divisibility of the atom, and led to this unit being visualised as the smallest particle of an element which could take part in a chemical change; it indicated that the molecule is the smallest particle of matter which can have an independent existence and directed the chemist towards the study of the composition of the molecule. The atomic theory was destined to become the fundamental conception upon which the whole of the chemistry of the nineteenth century was based; it played an equally important part in the above development of physics and became immediately the centre from which two great directions of scientific progress diverged. The following up of these two divergent routes led to the almost complete divorce of chemistry from physics during a great part of the nineteenth century; now, however, the two directions of progress are joined by such a network of cross-roads that it is impossible to trace a sharp line of demarcation between physics and chemistry. The two subjects are merely arbitrary divisions of one branch of knowledge which is concerned with the manifestations of matter and of energy; they have a common foundation, and their study has led, during these early years of the twentieth century, to the formulation of a common plan which may prove capable of embracing the whole inanimate universe. The first direction of progress which may be briefly considered is that which chemistry has taken. The acceptance of the atomic theory suggests at once the necessity for a careful distinction between elements and compounds, for the determination of the number of atoms of different elements which are combined in the molecules of compound bodies, and for the measurement of the relative weights of the atoms of different

elements. The realisation of this programme led to the determination of the atomic weights of all the elements in terms of the weight of the lightest atom known, that of hydrogen; as unit; it brought with it a detailed knowledge of the arrangement of the atoms in the molecules of several hundreds of thousands of compound bodies. It must be noted, however, that these results were not obtained with the aid alone of the atomic theory as it was put forward by Dalton; from time to time auxiliary theories had to be introduced.

Thus the Italian chemist, Avogadro, from a consideration of the experimental facts, was led to put forward a hypothesis according to which equal volumes of all gases, under the same conditions of temperature and of pressure, contain the same number of molecules; later, Frankland added to the atomic theory the doctrine of valency, which postulates that the elements may be classified according to the number of atoms of hydrogen with which one atom can enter into chemical combination. The atom of chlorine thus combines with one atom of hydrogen, that of oxygen with two, that of nitrogen with three, and that of carbon with four atoms of hydrogen.

As a result of the development of chemistry during the nineteenth century, our science presented itself 20 years ago as an almost perfect example of the classification of a great mass of facts by means of a logical system which had for its base the atomic theory. We knew that the compound molecule does not simply consist of a number of atoms thrown together like balls in a bag, but that it has an architectural arrangement which is perfectly definite and which can be determined with precision. All the triumphs of modern organic chemistry, the certainty with which we can now undertake the synthesis of most of those complex chemical compounds

which are produced during animal or vegetable life, and the profound knowledge which we have acquired of the arrangement of the atoms in the complex molecule, are the direct results of the assistance lent by the atomic theory to experimental science. It might be supposed, and many, in fact, have concluded, that the very perfect manner in which the observed facts fit in with the theory furnishes a positive proof that the atomic theory is not merely a kind of framework into which the experimental observations can be conveniently arranged, but that the atom and the molecule really exist. I am inclined to believe that the development of chemical knowledge during the nineteenth century justifies belief in the absolute existence of atoms and molecules, but at the same time, I recognise that the argument which leads to this conclusion is so tortuous and so involved that doubt is legitimate.

The second main direction of progress indicated by the atomic theory, although of great chemical importance, is more directly concerned with physics than with chemistry. Ordinarily, three states of matter are distinguished, the solid, the liquid and the gaseous. All gases have the same compressibility and the same coefficient of thermal dilatation, apart from certain small but very important discrepancies observed in every specific case; the corpuscular theory of Boyle led the mathematician Bernoulli in the eighteenth century to sketch out a kinetic theory of gases, in accordance with which a gas is regarded as made up of molecules which are constantly in movement. Each gaseous molecule is the seat of a certain quantity of kinetic energy or energy of movement; it is constantly in motion and rebounds incessantly from the other molecules which it encounters on its path.

The pressure exerted by a confined gas is the sum of the repeated shocks of the molecules upon the

walls of the containing vessel. When the kinetic energy is increased as the result of a rise of temperature, the pressure exerted by the gas increases as a result of the reinforcement of molecular bombardment. Although a molecule is minute in size, it possesses a certain weight and, like every ponderable object, is subject to the laws of gravity. The molecules of a gas repel each other by reason of their kinetic energy, but at the same time they are drawn together as the result of an attraction exerted between them. In a gas the repulsive force dominates the attractive force; any quantity whatsoever of a gas thus fills a vessel of any dimensions. But if the temperature falls, the kinetic energy may diminish to such a point as to become dominated by the cohesive forces; the free movement of the molecules is then checked, the gas becomes a liquid, and the molecules no longer rebound, but are only able to slide one over the other. A further fall in temperature, accompanied by a corresponding diminution of the kinetic energy, leads to an almost complete predominance of the cohesive forces and the liquid becomes a solid.

This hasty sketch of our theoretical ideas concerning the three states of matter excites one important reflection. The consideration of the three states of matter indicates that several conceptions are involved. The dimensions of the molecules, the quantities of energy which reside in them, and the attraction exercised between them, each play a part. All these, however, are susceptible to rigid mathematical treatment; even the deviations from the simple laws which determine the behaviour of gases lend themselves to mathematical development. The facility with which the kinetic theory of the three states of matter can be treated mathematically had led to the theory being developed in perfectly orderly sequence and each step forward had been taken almost

without contentious comment. Whilst the chemists of the nineteenth century were called upon to establish their theoretical conclusions by the methods of pure logic, the great mathematical physicists, Clerk Maxwell, Clausius, van der Waals and others, were able to bring to the perfection of the kinetic theory all the powerful weapons of modern mathematics. Thermodynamics, founded by Carnot, developed by Kelvin, and amplified by Willard Gibbs, assisted in the establishment of the kinetic theory.

A great widening in of the scientific horizon resulted from the mathematical study of the three states of matter. We owe to it the perfecting of the steam engine and of the internal combustion engine, the manufacture of nitric acid from atmospheric air, and many other achievements which have exercised a profound and far-reaching influence on all terrestrial affairs.

The kinetic theory, as we know it to-day, provides a method for calculating almost all the fundamental constants connected with gases. Thus we can determine the actual dimensions of atoms and of molecules, their speeds of movement, and the quantity of energy resident in each one of these tiny particles. We have already noted that Avogadro postulated that equal volumes of different gases under similar conditions of temperature and pressure contain the same number of molecules; it is further obvious that the molecular weight in grammes, no matter of what substances, simple or compound, must contain the same number of molecules. This number, which is called Avogadro's constant, can be deduced by the aid of the kinetic theory from exact experimental observations made upon the gases. The mathematical interpretation of measurements of the viscosity of gases assigns to Avogadro's constant a value of 62×10^{22} ; we shall see later that other and quite different methods of calculating the same constant lead to approximately identical values.

Many other examples of the stimulus exerted upon the physical sciences by the atomic theory in the second direction involved in the mathematical treatment of the kinetic theory might be quoted. The agreement between the experimental results and the theoretical anticipations is so complete that we are tempted once again to conclude that the atomic theory represents an objective truth, but in the second, just as in the first direction emanating from the atomic theory, it has been necessary to make successive additions of new hypotheses to the original form ; and although the agreement between practice and theory has always been so close, it cannot be denied that the definite proof of the objective existence of atoms and molecules escaped the scientific investigators of the nineteenth century. In spite of the brilliant work of our predecessors, these latter passed away without establishing the discontinuity of matter with such a precision as alone could lead to absolute conviction ; up till the end of the nineteenth century they were occupied in modifying the atomic theory so as to bring it more completely into agreement with the facts.

Let us now consider the improvements which have taken place in this uncertain situation during the last twenty years. In 1827 the English botanist, Brown, on examining under the microscope minute particles of matter suspended in water, observed the tiny solid fragments to be in perpetual and disorganised agitation. This extraordinary phenomenon is observed with all kinds of minute particles suspended in the most diverse liquids ; it can be seen without difficulty in a suspension of gamboge in water. Many explanations of the Brownian movement were attempted prior to the commencement of the twentieth century ; variations in the surrounding temperature, the action of light or of currents of air, and the shaking of the apparatus, were suggested as possible

causes but in the end the conclusion was drawn that the movement of these microscopic particles is the result of blows received from the liquid molecules. The kinetic theory tells us that a cubic millimetre of water contains about 3×10^{10} molecules, the rapidity of the movement of which at the ordinary temperature is more than ten times that of an express train; the blow which a molecule of water gives on striking an enormously larger solid particle suffices to move this latter from its place. The study of the Brownian movement, indeed, brings us into closer personal contact with the molecule itself than did all the efforts of nineteenth century science; whilst the application of mathematical and logical methods to physical and chemical observations led to a belief in the validity of the molecular and atomic theory, the direct action of the molecules can be seen to-day in the spectacle of solid particles dispersed in all directions by a molecular bombardment. Improvements in the technique of the study of the Brownian movement and advances in the mathematical treatment of the experimental observations have of late yielded a rich harvest; one illustration may be given to show the manner in which knowledge has been extended by the study of this subject. The molecules of a gas are mutually repelled by reason of their kinetic energy, and are at the same time attracted because they are subject to the action of gravity like every other ponderable object; the gaseous molecules are subject further to terrestrial attraction, and it is this which retains our atmosphere. Above the earth's surface the atmospheric density diminishes with the height according to a law which is perfectly well-defined by the kinetic theory; the conditions which hold in a gas are precisely similar to those which exist in a suspension of gamboge particles in water. The molecular bombardment disperses the solid particles, whilst gravity attracts them towards

the bottom of the containing vessel. Although an atmosphere of hydrogen would retain an appreciable concentration at a height of some kilometres above the earth, whilst a suspension of Brownian particles is not appreciably dispersed more than several millimetres above the bottom of the containing cell, the same law connects atmospheric concentration and Brownian concentration with the height. The study of the Brownian movement thus lends itself to the calculation of the physical constants of gases by means of the kinetic theory just as well as does the study of the gases. Measurements made upon the dispersion of the Brownian particles at different heights, thus enable us to calculate the Avogadro constant. This calculation gives the ¹ value 66×10^{22} which agrees sufficiently well with that deduced from the study of the existence of the molecule ³ which we cannot see, as of gaseous viscosity to, ² make us just as certain of existence of the Brownian particle "which we observe in perpetual movement under the microscope. The French chemist Jean Perrin, who devoted himself for 20 years to the study of the Brownian movement, gave us this beautiful verification of the atomic theory.

We may now pass from these results, without concerning ourselves with other equally striking examples which result from the mathematical treatment of the Brownian movement, to review considerations of an entirely different order. Whilst the end of the nineteenth century left us in possession of very detailed and fruitful theoretical views concerning the constitution of matter, the new century found us in presence of a mass of experimental facts which did not fall within the scheme of the atomic theory, although at the same time intimately related to the constitution of matter. At every epoch in the history of science the prime importance of discrepant and incomprehensible observations has been recognised; they have

always served as a starting point for those imaginative speculations which are the only source of progress.

In 1815 an English doctor, Prout, stated that the atomic weights of the elements are all simple multiples of that of hydrogen; a more careful study proved this assertion to be false, but it had to be admitted that the atomic weights of a large number of known elements approximate to whole numbers. Later, Newlands showed that on cutting up a list of the elements arranged in the order of their atomic weights into series of eight, the corresponding members of the different series presented obvious similarities of chemical behaviour; this observation was extended by Mendeleeff, who in 1869 put forward the periodic classification of the elements and showed that an intimate relationship exists between the atomic weights and the properties of the elements.

The directive tendency of such observations was recognised even by Prout; if a definite periodic relationship can be established between the atomic weights and the properties of the elements, it becomes almost imperative to conclude that the atoms of different elements are compound bodies built up from the same primary materials. Once this idea is accepted, the duty devolves upon us of seeking to penetrate behind Dalton's theory and of learning the details of the architecture of the elementary atoms. A century had passed away since Prout stated his conviction that the atom is not a primary unit, but it is only during the last few years that the definite proof of his thesis has been given. Between 1880 and 1890 Sir William Crookes showed that when a high potential electric discharge passes through a rarified gas, a phenomenon occurs which cannot be connected with any property of the three states of matter known up to that date; Crookes, in fact, described a fourth state of matter, and his experimental work led later to the discovery of the X-rays by

Röntgen. In 1897, Sir J. J. Thomson showed that when an electric discharge passes through a rarified gas, a stream of particles, charged with negative electricity and moving with great velocity, emanates from the cathode; these particles, which are termed electrons, are immensely smaller than the atom of hydrogen, the most minute particle of matter hitherto distinguished. Almost at the same time, the discovery of the element argon by Lord Rayleigh led Sir William Ramsay to recognise the terrestrial existence of the element helium which had been discovered in the sun's atmosphere by Sir Joseph Lockyer in 1869. It was shown that argon and helium belong to a new family of elements possessing the special character of appearing to be completely devoid of chemical properties. It may be added here that at the end of the nineteenth century experimental philosophy was still faced with the old enigma that energy, postulated as being continuous and imponderable, acts upon matter, recognised as discontinuous and ponderable; the apparent insolubility of the problem of action at a distance maintained for centuries a breach between the physical sciences and abstract philosophy.

These are very briefly the principal questions which presented themselves as being closely associated with our conceptions of the constitution of matter, but which were not embraced by our theories. The nineteenth century left us as a legacy this great accumulation of uncorrelated experimental facts; the moment of a great expansion in our knowledge of the ultimate structure of matter was rapidly approaching.

After the discovery of radio-activity by Becquerel, Mme. Curie produced the experimental proof that a new element which she had discovered, radium, possesses properties entirely different from any previously observed; from every material, no matter what, containing

this element there emanates continuously a gaseous substance which renders the surrounding space a conductor of electricity. In 1903 Ramsay and Soddy showed that when the gaseous emanation from radium is preserved, the element helium is produced. Thus, for the first time, one of the most frequent dreams of the alchemists, that of the transmutation of the elements, was realised by the production of the gaseous element helium from a metallic element, radium. As a result of these astounding discoveries it became clear, as Sir J. J. Thomson had long suspected, that the atom is an electrical structure. Whilst at the commencement of the nineteenth century Dalton placed the atomic theory upon a solid foundation, we are able a century later to state a sub-atomic theory, supporting our conclusions on even stronger experimental grounds. This new conception, which may be termed the electronic theory of matter, can be defined in the following terms; the atom of a chemical element possesses a complex structure; it is formed of a nucleus, which carries a charge of positive electricity, and of an external domain, which contains a sufficient number of particles of negative electricity to be in equilibrium with the charge carried by the nucleus. We owe this mode of definition to Sir Ernest Rutherford; it results from the discovery that electricity, like matter, possesses a granular structure. The electronic theory carries with it the conception that the atoms of the chemical elements are built up from almost infinitely smaller atoms of positive and of negative electricity; these ultimate units may be termed the positive and negative electrons. Experimental measurements show that the nucleus is of dimensions which are minute in comparison with those of the atom itself; the diameter of the nucleus is about $\frac{1}{10000}$ of that of the atom. The mass of the atom is almost entirely a property of the atomic

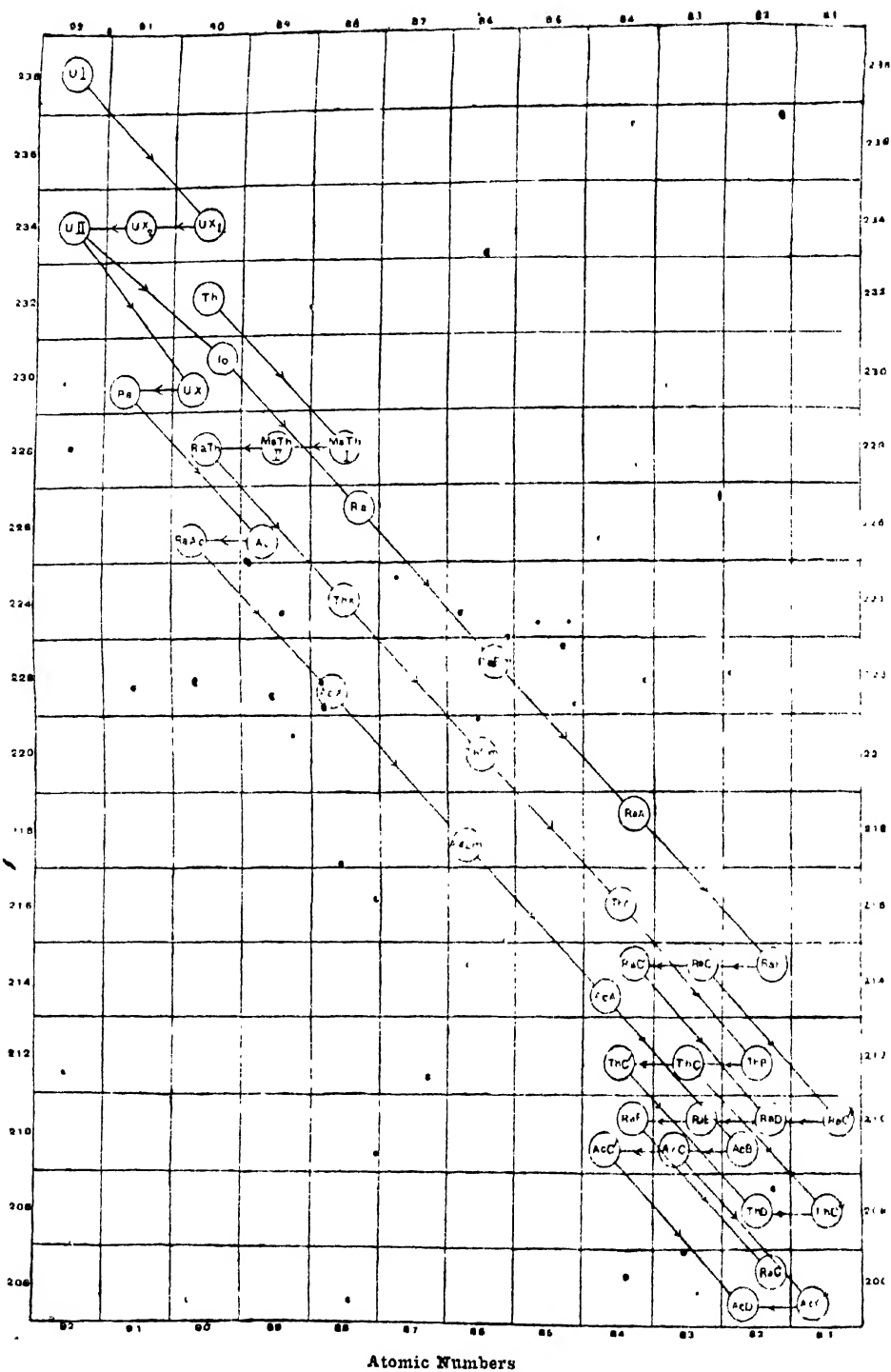
nucleus, and is proportional to the number of atoms of positive electricity contained in the nucleus. Since the nucleus of the hydrogen atom only contains one unit of positive electricity, the atomic weight of an element is equal to the number of positive electrons contained in the nucleus. The nucleus contains, in general, negative as well as positive electrons; the number of positive electrons minus the number of negative electrons present in the nucleus gives the electric charge of the latter in fundamental units, and is called the atomic number.

Directly the electronic theory is applied to the interpretation of the great body of known facts which are connected with the atomic theory but which are yet not embraced by it, it is seen that all these previously inexplicable observations commence to fall into orderly arrangement. Thus, the classical work of Moseley in 1913 revealed that the conception of the atomic number possesses a quite extraordinary signification. When the known elements are arranged in the order of their atomic weights and then numbered consecutively, each receives its atomic number—the number which represents the electrical charge carried by the atomic nucleus. Moseley showed further that the atomic number is quantitatively related in a very simple manner to the X-ray spectrum characteristic of the element.

These new conceptions are conveniently elucidated by the quotation of a few illustrations. The atomic weight and the atomic number of the lightest element known, hydrogen, are both unity. The atomic nucleus thus consists of one positive electron and the external atomic domain contains one negative electron in electrical equilibrium with the nucleus. A brief explanation is here called for. The element hydrogen consists, in the free state, of molecules each composed of two atoms, whilst the free hydrogen atom would consist of but one

atom or unit of positive electricity; the free hydrogen atom corresponds, in fact, to the hydrogen ion of the chemist, which acts as carrier of the electric current during electrolysis of the aqueous solution of an acid. Whilst the free hydrogen atom is only the positive nucleus, namely, an atom of positive electricity, the hydrogen molecule consists of two such nuclei with two negative electrons in orbital movement about them. In the atom of helium, of atomic weight four and of atomic number two, the nucleus is composed of four positive and two negative electrons, whilst the external atomic domain contains two negative electrons in equilibrium with the nuclear charge of two units. The most complex element known to us, uranium, has the atomic weight of 238 and the atomic number 92. The positive nucleus thus contains 238 positive and 146 negative electrons, the latter number being that necessary to give the nucleus a positive charge of 92; in equilibrium with the 92 negative electrons contained in the external atomic domain.

We can now proceed to interpret the radioactive changes of radium in the light of the electronic theory. The experimental study of this remarkable subject shows that radium, or any material which contains this element, continuously emits four characteristic products, namely, a gaseous emanation, α -particles, β -particles and γ -rays. The gaseous emanation in due course changes into a new solid element, radium-A, and amongst the products of all these changes, helium is found. Rutherford was the first to prove that the α -particle is merely the rapidly moving atomic nucleus of helium; the α -particle is thus the helium atom deprived of its external domain, that is to say, is a nuclear body composed of four positive and two negative electrons. The β -particle has been identified as the negative electron in rapid



movement and the γ -rays are merely X-rays of very long wave-length.

The first phase of the atomic disintegration of radium consists in the violent expulsion from the nucleus of an α -particle, leaving a gaseous element, the radium emanation. Since the atomic weight of radium is 226, and the atomic number is 88, the removal of one α -particle, from the nucleus should yield an element, the radium emanation, of an atomic weight four units less, 222, and the atomic number 86, two units less. The α -particle is expelled from the radium nucleus with a velocity of about 15,000 kilometres per second and partly by reason of this fact, is endowed with intense chemical activity; during its flight the α -particle combines with two free negative electrons and is thereby converted into an atom of helium, the element which Ramsay and Soddy discovered among the disintegration products of radium. The velocity with which this first step in the radium transformation proceeds has been determined by very delicate methods devised by Rutherford; it is conveniently defined as the half-transformation period, which elapses before one-half of a given quantity of radium has passed through this phase. The half-transformation period of half transformation, is about 1,600 years for the conversion of radium into radium emanation. The emanation in turn undergoes change; an α -particle is expelled from the atom with production of a solid element, radium-A, of atomic weight 218 and atomic number 84, and in this change the period of half-transformation is four days.

Radium-A next changes by the expulsion of an α -particle into Radium-B, of atomic weight 214 and atomic number 82, the half-transformation period being three minutes. Radium-B then undergoes atomic disintegration and becomes converted into Radium-C with a half-transformation period of 27 minutes but this change is

accompanied by the expulsion of a β -particle. Radium-C therefore has the same atomic weight, 214, as Radium-B, but its atomic number is one unit higher, namely, 83.

I dare not detain you longer by a discussion of all the stages of atomic disintegration which the radioactive elements of the radium series are passing through but it must be noted that the passage from radium to Radium-C represents but a small portion of a long series of radioactive transformations which have been studied experimentally and which are indicated in the accompanying diagram. It will be seen that Uranium-I, the element of highest atomic weight, namely, 238, and of atomic number, 92, is the earliest known ancestor of Radium, and that it becomes converted into Uranium-X' by the expulsion of an α -particle; the half-transformation period is about 30,000,000,000 years.

Uranium-X' then changes into Uranium-X² by emission of a β -particle and the long series of subsequent radioactive transformations results in the final production of Actinium-D, of atomic weight 206 and atomic number 82. As shown in the table, these transformations are consecutive but at certain stages the series bifurcates, one element yielding two new radioactive products.

Two main series of radioactive transformations have been hitherto explored, the one beginning with Uranium and the other with Thorium; no junction between the two series has been discovered but, so far as is known at present, the end product of both is the element lead of atomic number 82.

Although these two series are the only ones yet studied in detail indications are plentiful that atomic disintegration is not confined to the elements composing them. It has been recently found that the element rubidium is radioactive and becomes converted into the

element strontium, of atomic number 38, the half-transformation period being about 10^{11} years; the elements caesium and potassium, which are intimately related to rubidium, ought to behave in a similar manner. If the transmutability of rubidium, caesium and potassium is admitted it must be concluded that atomic disintegration is a general property of the elements; this conclusion is, in my opinion, more strongly indicated by an entirely different line of argument.

It has been seen that the expulsion of an α -particle is accompanied by a diminution of the atomic weight of four units and of the atomic number of two units, whilst the loss of a β -particle by the nucleus leaves the atomic weight unchanged but increases the atomic number by two units. The nuclear expulsion of both an α - and a β -particle, either in one or in consecutive stages, will thus leave the atomic number unchanged but will diminish the atomic weight by four units. The table reveals several cases of elements of different atomic weights but of the same atomic number which have been derived in this manner.

Elements of the same atomic number but of different atomic weights are termed isotopes and their study reveals a fundamental property of the atomic number. Isotopic elements possess, so far as we are aware, identical chemical properties; they show almost identical spectra and are only distinguishable in properties associated with mass, such as the atomic weight and the density. The atomic number is thus the most characteristic factor in the determination of the chemical properties of an element; we shall see later, however, that another factor plays an even more important part in defining a chemical element.

The three elements of smallest atomic number noted in the table namely, 81, produced during the series of

atomic disintegrations of Uranium and Thorium, each change further by the expulsion of a β -particle; as Soddy has remarked, if this final phase were accompanied by the separation of an α -particle, isotopes of gold of atomic number, 79, would have resulted, but since it is brought about by the less frequent operation of expelling a β -particle, the products are isotopes of lead with the atomic number, 82. Uranium thus yields as final disintegration products, actinium-D and radium-G which represent isotopes of lead of atomic weight 206 and are possibly identical; thorium gives as the final product, thorium-D, an isotope of lead of atomic weight 208. It is of especial interest to note that the atomic weights of these two forms of lead have been experimentally determined, the one by Soddy and the other by Richards, and that the found values are approximately 206 and 208 respectively.

The proof of the formation of isotopic elements as products of the atomic disintegration of the radioactive elements is now complete; it has been possible also to obtain a glimpse of the radioactive change of rubidium, although the change proceeds so slowly that our present experimental methods are scarcely delicate enough to respond to its effects. The mechanism of radioactive change is known and the reason for the existence of isotopic elements is understood; both depend upon the expulsion of α - and β -particles from the atomic nucleus. It is evident that if the existence of isotopic elements outside the series of radioactive elements already known could be proved we should have at least the right to suspect that all the known elements are either undergoing radioactive change or are the final products of such change. It would be almost legitimate for us to picture to ourselves the whole universe, after the expiration of some geologically immense period of time, as built

up from an entirely new set of elements; it may well be that the elements which now compose our solar system represent but a small patch in a gigantic net-work of radioactive transmutations, a patch which is progressively changing its position in the network by the disappearance of some elements and the appearance of new ones.

During the last few years, Aston, at Cambridge, has produced definite proofs that many elements outside those series previously recognised as radioactive, are present on the earth as mixtures of several isotopes. Thus chlorine, the atomic weight of which was determined with such precision by Stas as 35.46, is a mixture of two isotopes of atomic weights 35 and 37 with, in all probability, a third of atomic weight, 39. He has also shown that the element krypton as we know it of atomic weight, 82.92, is a mixture of six isotopes of atomic weights 78, 80, 82, 83, 84 and 86. In some cases, such as in that of mercury, the partial separation of the component isotopes has been effected. Aston's proof of the existence of isotopes outside the known series of radioactive elements is highly significant; it suggests that all the known elements are subject to atomic disintegration.

Another important reflection here presents itself. The atomic nucleus of a radioactive element often contains more than 200 positive and 100 negative electrons; in spite, however, of this great complexity of atomic composition, each consecutive radioactive change is of the utmost simplicity and proceeds steadily without being influenced by any terrestrial agency. It must therefore be concluded that the atomic nucleus, even when of the greatest complexity of composition, is a mechanism of perfectly definite design; the fact that the atomic nucleus is a piece of moving machinery which performs a simple operation such as the expulsion of an α - or a

β -particle with unchangeable regularity, is very striking. It shows that we must consider not only the numbers of positive and negative electrons present in the nucleus but also the definite architectural plan in accordance with which those components are arranged within the atomic nucleus. In view of this conclusion it is not surprising to find that two distinct elements which are identical in their atomic weight and atomic number, but which are entirely different in other properties are occasionally produced during radioactive changes. Thus, two elements of atomic weight, 230, and atomic number, 90, are known; the one is ionium which changes into radium by the expulsion of an α -particle with a half-transformation period of about 100,000 years, whilst the other is uranium-Y which yields ekatantalum (protoactinium, Pa) by the expulsion of a β -particle with a half-transformation period of about a day and a half.

In order that some clearness of vision may be conserved amongst all these complications, it is useful to lay down a few definitions.

The atoms of a chemical element all have the same mass and are identical in atomic number and in the arrangement of the components of the atomic nucleus. Two elements are isotopic if they have different atomic weights but the same atomic number. Isomeric isotopes are elements which are identical in atomic weight and in atomic number but are of different nuclear constitutions.

The consideration of a list of atomic weights, referred to that of hydrogen as unity, shows that a large proportion depart but little from whole numbers. When the atomic weights are calculated on the assumption that that of oxygen is 16, the departure from whole numbers becomes in many cases even smaller, but in such a table the atomic weight of hydrogen becomes 1008. Since the electronic theory affirms that the atomic weight is the

number of atoms of positive electricity contained in the atomic nucleus, it would be expected that the atomic weight of each element, as just defined, should be a whole number. As Aston has shown, the elements as we know them are often mixtures of several isotopes. The observed atomic weight is naturally the weighted mean of those of the constituent isotopes; the atomic weight of a true chemical element is always a whole number, hydrogen presenting the sole exception. No quantitative explanation has yet been given for the slight deviation from the law presented by hydrogen; it is probably to be sought in the unique character of hydrogen and in the modern view that energy is a form of matter.

The α -particle of mass four is expelled from the radium atomic nucleus with a velocity of about 20,000 kilometres per second; travelling at this speed it may cover a considerable path in a gas before being stopped. A very beautiful method has been devised by Wilson in Cambridge for rendering visible the track of the moving α -particle. The α -particle, carrying its positive charge is capable of removing particles from the gaseous molecules which it encounters in its passage converting the latter into charged particles and thus rendering the surrounding space an electrical conductor; it can also pass sufficiently near to the atomic nucleus of a gas particle to rupture the atomic nucleus by the force of its impact. This last eventuality will naturally be of rare occurrence because the total space occupied by the atomic nuclei is not more than one-millionth of the volume occupied by a gas at ordinary temperatures and pressures. Rutherford has recently shown that on bombarding nitrogen or one of its compounds by α -particles the atomic nucleus is fractured with production of hydrogen and of an isotope of helium having an atomic weight of three; similar observations have been made upon oxygen. These important results

open up an entirely fresh field of investigation that, namely, of the effect of shattering the atomic nuclei of the elements in general by impact with an α -particle. They indicate that the atomic nucleus of nitrogen can be broken up into four nuclei of isotopic helium and two of hydrogen and thus suggest a possible method for determining the architectural plan of the atomic nucleus.

Up to the present we have considered principally the constitution and properties of the atomic nucleus; this latter represents the minute dynamic centre of a relatively large external atomic domain in which negative electrons are arranged. According to Bohr, these negative electrons are distributed in one or more series, the members of which are in orbital movement about the nucleus; these series of electrons thus form rings which seem to be concentric and to lie in the same plane. Bohr's conception, modified by others, has led the mathematicians to undertake the study of the relative stability of the various modes of arrangement possible and this has already led to the discovery of important quantitative relationships which exist between the constitution of the atom and the spectrum of the element. We can already perceive, although but dimly, the beginnings of a development of our knowledge of the more intimate structure of the atom which should elucidate many obscure chemical problems, such for instance, as those which refer to the principles determining the constitution of organic substances.

It is curious that, notwithstanding the difference of epoch, the electronic theory is developing, and its consequences are unfolding themselves, in precisely the same way as was the case, a century ago, with the atomic theory; in the early days of the latter the molecule was regarded merely as a disorderly aggregate of atoms and

it was not until much later that the molecule was perceived to be an orderly edifice of which the structural details could be discerned. The conditions which prevailed at the birth of the two theories were, however, very dissimilar. The elder one was advanced at a moment when the experimental methods of the chemist were but poorly developed and was called upon to elucidate the immense complexity of structure presented by organic compounds. The newer theory deals chiefly with energy relationships and the possible combinations of electrical atoms; unlike the atomic theory it lends itself immediately to mathematical treatment. In spite of the complexity of the questions which arise, the task imposed upon us is less overwhelming than that which faced our predecessors a century ago; we may expect, with every confidence, to witness the complete development of the electronic theory within a very few years' time.

The electronic theory furnishes an independent and very accurate method for determining the Avogadro constant; from his measurements of the electric charge carried by the atom of electricity, Millikan has calculated this constant as 60.62×10^{22} , with a possible error of one in a thousand. This value is of the same order as the less exact values deduced from the behaviour of gases and the study of the Brownian movement.

Distinct indications are already to be seen that a still more fundamental theory will at no distant date become the basis of the electron theory just as the latter is now the foundation of the atomic theory. The study of radioactivity has shown how the most complex chemical elements, uranium and thorium, undergo series of nuclear disintegrations which finish with their complete conversion into helium and isotopes of lead; each step in these long series of transmutations is accompanied by the liberation of enormous quantities of energy. The mathematical

study of the properties of energy and of radioactive matter lead to the remarkable conclusion that the mass of a body is measured by the total energy of which it is the seat ; each gramme of matter represents a quantity of energy equal to that liberated during the burning of about 3,000 tons of coal. Every chemical change brought about in the laboratory is therefore accompanied by a change of mass ; the old law of the conservation of mass can be no longer retained although our experimental methods are not delicate enough to reveal the diminution of mass which results from the liberation of energy during a chemical reaction. Although radium throws off every two days as much energy as would be obtained by burning its own weight of coal, the loss of mass which accompanies the radioactive conversion of uranium into helium and lead is only about one-ten thousandth of the mass of the uranium. It can already be perceived, although perhaps not quite clearly, that our whole conception of the inanimate universe will in due course repose upon one ultimate entity, energy, which is granular in structure and which, by its diverse modes of manifestation and of arrangement, leads to the elaboration of all the complex organisation of the universe.

We are to a certain extent checked in our efforts to elucidate the great problem of the constitution of matter by the insufficiency of the experimental means at our disposal. The highest temperature obtainable on the earth, that of the electric arc, does not attain 1000° the temperature of the sun is only about 6550° but in the great nebulae, some of which have a diameter larger than that of the whole solar system, temperatures of over 15000° are to be observed. Spectroscopic observations show that elements unknown on the earth exist in these vast spaces ; these distant regions are the crucibles in which our terrestrial elements are created and destroyed.

During the past hour I have attempted to place before you a very brief, and I fear a very imperfect, sketch of the manner in which Chemistry and Physics, once so separated in aim and in conception, have now become entirely at one in their reading of the problems before them and in their views concerning the nature of matter and energy. The problems with which we are still faced will be solved by the combined efforts of the chemist, the physicist and the mathematician; this University has already gained a recognised position as a centre of research in the natural sciences and in mathematics; we may look forward with confident anticipation to seeing the names of its graduates take a prominent place in the history of what will be the greatest achievement of contemporary natural philosophy, namely, the proof of the reality of atomic structure and the demonstration that the atom of energy is the ultimate structural unit of all inanimate nature.

LAFCADIO HEARN¹

It is probable that more books have been written about Japan in recent years than any other country, but few will deny that out of that vast accumulation of publications the work of Lafcadio Hearn is pre-eminent. When we survey his twelve books devoted to the study of the Land of the Gods—from those first glowing impressions in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* to his critical masterpiece, *Japan : An Interpretation*, we are conscious of having come in touch with one who has not only told us more about Japan than any other writer, but who has at the same time presented his material in a rich, poetic and sensitive style that is irresistible in its charm.

Hearn has been described as a sentimentalist by those who are not familiar with his biting comments in reference to the majority of young Japanese men who ape the west and ridicule the Spirit of Old Japan. Religious people have taken objection to his attitude towards Christianity. Others have lamented that he was too much under the influence of Herbert Spencer. Dr. Gould has described Hearn as lacking in originality and devoid of genius. Muck-rakes have been busy stirring up his youthful follies, and some American critics can do no better than describe Hearn as an Oriental Edgar Allan Poe.

Yone Noguchi was right when he observed that "you must have another Hearn to understand Lafcadio Hearn." He writes : "we never talk of Hearn's personality here ; it is

¹ The passage occurs in a letter I received from Mr. Channing Arnold, a son of the poet.

The Works of Hearn, published by Kegan Paul, Macmillan, Harper, and Constable.

The Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, by Elizabeth Bisland, 2 vols., Constable.

The Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn, edited by Elizabeth Bisland, Constable.

Concerning Lafcadio Hearn, by George M. Gould, Fisher Unwin.

Lafcadio Hearn in Japan, by Yone Noguchi, with *Mrs. Lafcadio Hearn's Reminiscences*, Elkin Mathews.

enough to have his books ;—and we have only to burn incense before his grave and read a *sutra*, if we cannot say anything good about him in public.” Such a method is not adopted in the offices of our literary journals, and Western admirers of Hearn’s work no longer indulge in æsthetic performances so delightfully parodied in *Patience*. We must track our great ones down, and in our haste we forget to carry lilies or to burn incense. “They will cut us up like pigs when we’re gone”¹ said Edwin Arnold to Tennyson, but in trying to portray something of the personality of Hearn, I have no intention of making a gory mess of the business by presenting a picture remotely resembling the pig-killing scene in *Jude the Obscure*. His character was so sensitive, so wayward, so eerie, so child-like, so wrapped about with mystery, that no one so far has been able to describe him with any degree of completeness. We can fathom his genius to a certain extent, but the man himself we do not know, and when we recall his own conception of personality—a man who is the sum-total of billions of past lives—it is not surprising that we get a little fogged in attempting to work out the problem. Even Mrs. Hearn’s wonderful reminiscences of her husband are illusive, for we only catch a glimpse of this shy, fleeting figure. Hearn’s letters, full of charm as they are, tell us little about his personality. They are only intimate so far as they reveal the writer. He is content, especially in his letters to Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain, to write about his work and his reading, and he does so with such minute detail, with such frank enthusiasm and such penetrating criticism, that we are able to realise the influences that so considerably helped to mould his tense and delicate style. No letters have hitherto appeared that so illuminate the inner workings of the literary mind.

Hearn did not cast a prophetic beam into the future. What he did was to illuminate the Japanese past. He was extraordinarily primitive, and might have afforded an excellent

example in support of one of Dean Inge's pet theories. Hearn was pagan rather than Bohemian, and his paganism was more far-reaching than that of Heine when he wrote *The Exile of the Gods*. Hearn crept out of the way of civilisation whenever it was possible to do so. He sometimes rang the front-door bell of a friend's house, and, through sheer timidity, bolted before his nervous ring could be answered. His love of tropical nights, especially those associated with his visit to the French West Indies, his abnormal development of the sensuous, are characteristics that cannot be over-emphasised. He complained that many French authors wrote too much with the "pudic nerve," but as a matter of fact the chief stimulant of Hearn's pen was emotion. He had to feel intensely before he was able to express intensely too, and even his criticism of the work of others is governed by the same compelling force.

Many consider that Hearn at the last was disillusioned in regard to Japan. This is only partly true. There were occasions when this writer, usually so mild and gentle, could be excessively petulant. He did not hesitate to denounce the many innovations due to Western influence. He was condemning an ugly hybrid, not the original stock. Had he been alive to-day, and aware of Japan's "peaceful penetration" in China, he would have repeated his frequently quoted expletive, "Damn the Japanese!" He wrote: "I detest with unspeakable detestations the frank selfishness, the apathetic vanity, the shallow, vulgar scepticism of the New Japan that prates its contempt about Tempo times, and ridicules the dear old men of the pre-Meiji era, and that never smiles, having a heart as hollow and bitter as a dried lemon." He expressed himself strongly, but his denunciation of the New Japan is at the same time a vigorous acclamation of the Old. The type that was for ever aping the West and mocking the noble past was hateful to Hearn. He wanted Japan to stand still: to worship her old gods and remain faithful to her illustrious ancestors: to be

always quaint and superstitious. He wanted the opalescent mists of Mount Fuji, and not the smoke of factory chimneys. He managed to preserve in his books all that was beautiful, picturesque and lovable about Japan. To attempt to destroy these ancient and hallowed charms was an act of vandalism he could not endure silently. He railed against the missionary "beasts," against officialdom in silk hat and frock-coat, and against many young Japanese men, of whom he wrote: "There will be no hearts after a time; Waterbury watches will be substituted instead. These will be cheap and cold, but will keep up a tolerably regular ticking." He would have endorsed the following old Chinese law: "Let him who says anything new, or him who shall invent anything new, be put to death." He would have striven against universal suffrage in Japan, and he would have supported Kaibara's remark in *The Greater Learning for Women*: "Never set thyself up against thy husband with harsh features and a boisterous voice."

Can we account for Hearn's delicate, sensuous and almost ghostly style? I can suggest two possible, but by no means exhaustive, reasons—*viz.*, his birth, and the fact that he suffered from myopia. He had Greek and Romany blood. The Greek accounted for his unquenchable love of the beautiful, combined, curiously enough, with an almost equal love of the horrible. He was moved by the smile of Venus and also by the twisting snakes above Medusa's brow. His Romany blood may have accounted for the fact that he was one of the world's wanderers.

I attach, in common with Dr. G. M. Gould,¹ even more importance to Hearn's defective vision. He saw everything in a microscopic way—and notice at this point the love of little things so characteristic of the Japanese. On the *tsuba* (sword-guard) and *netsuke* (toggle for medicine-box or tobacco-pouch)

¹ Dr. Gould wrote interesting articles on this subject in the *Fortnightly Review*, October-November, 1906.

will be found stories from history and legend, while a Japanese garden, replete with lantern and bright red bridge, has been fashioned in a space no bigger than a soup-plate. Hearn's limited vision seemed to stimulate rather than check his imagination. On one occasion a city editor persuaded Hearn to climb the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral, Cincinnati. He wrote an account of that experience, and it "went the round of the newspaper world." His feat recalls the following lines of Andrew Lang :

" And with my feeble eyes and dim,
Where *you* see patchy fields and fences,
For me the mists of Turner swim—
My azure distance soon commences ! "

Hearn was more Stevensonian than R. L. S. in his reverence for words. He wrote : " For me words have colour, character ; they have faces, ports, manners, gesticulations ; they have moods, humours, eccentricities ; they have tints, tones, personalities." He toyed in a whimsical manner with this idea in a letter to Professor B. H. Chamberlain. He wrote :

Because people cannot see the colour of words, the tints of words, the secret ghostly motions of words :—

Because they cannot hear the whispering of words, the rustling of the procession of letters, the dream-flutes and dream-drums which are thinly and weirdly played by words :—

Because they cannot perceive the pouting of words, the trowning and fuming of words, the weeping, the raging and reeking of words :—

Because they are insensible to the phosphorescing of words, the fragrance of words, the noisomeness of words, the tenderness or hardness, the drying or juiciness of words,—the interchange of values in the gold, the silver and the copper of words :—

Is that any reason why we should not try to make them hear, to make see, to make them feel ?

Hearn had one answer ready himself : " Because they won't buy your books, and you won't make any money." The

closed pockets of the Philistines did not distress him. In the same letter he wrote :

.....Surely I have never yet made, and never expect to make any money. Neither do I expect to write ever for the multitude. I write for beloved friends who can see colour in words, can smell the perfume of syllables in blossoms, can be shocked with the fine elfish electricity of words. And in the eternal order of things, words will eventually have their rights recognised by the people.

Mrs. Hearn used to tell her husband Japanese ghost stories. They were told on dreary evenings, and in a room that was dimly lighted. Mrs. Hearn wrote :

When I tell him stories I always told him at first the mere skeleton of the story. If it is interesting, he puts it down in his note-book and makes me repeat several times.

And when the story is interesting, he instantly becomes exceedingly serious ; the colour of his face changes ; his eyes wear the look of fearful enthusiasm.

As I went on as usual the story of Okachinsan, his face gradually changed pale ; his eyes were fixed ; I felt a sudden awe. When I finished the narrative he became a little relaxed and said it was very interesting. "O blood !" he repeatedly said ; and asked me several questions regarding the situations, actions, etc., involved in the story. "In what manner was 'O blood !' exclaimed ? In what manner of voice ? What do you think of the sound of 'geta' at that time ? How was the night ? I think so and so. What do you think ? etc." Thus he consulted me about various things besides the original story which I told from the book. If any one happened to see us thus talking from outside, he would surely think that we were mad.

The story of Okachinsan was published in *Kottō*,¹ and its weirdness and dramatic force were undoubtedly due in some measure to those fearsome questions and answers Mrs. Hearn has described so vividly. The story is not original. Hearn never invented a story of his own. He borrowed his material, but so far from leaving a debt we usually associate with plagiarism, he ransacked his store of words with so much

¹ *The Legend of Yurei-Daki*. In Hearn's version Okachinsan reads O-Katsu-Son.

diligence, and arranged and re-arranged them with so much artistry, that the material, fusty enough in the original, glows with the lustre of Chinese silk. Lamb claimed that the value of a book lent to Coleridge was enhanced considerably when it was returned with the magic of his marginal notes. And so it was with Hearn. He borrowed a good deal of his literary material, but he had the art of jewelling dull phrases and of giving a ghostly perfume to the most acrid passages. He borrowed nothing that his genius did not beautify a thousandfold.

Hearn wrote in one of his early letters from Japan :

. Pretty to talk of my "pen of fire." I've lost it. Well, the fact is, it is no use here. There isn't any fire here. It is all soft, dreamy, quiet, pale, faint, gentle, hazy, vapory, visionary.....Don't please imagine there are any tropics here. Ah ! the tropics—they still pull at my heart-strings. Goodness ! my real field was there—in the Latin countries, in the West Indies and Spanish America : and my dream was to haunt the old crumbling Portuguese and Spanish cities, and steam up the Orinoco, and get romances nobody else could find. And I could have done it, and made books that would sell for twenty years.

Hearn was wrong. Few read to-day his *Chita*, *youma* and *Two years in the French West Indies*, while of *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, *Out of the East* and *Kokoro* Professor B. H. Chamberlain wrote : "Never perhaps was scientific accuracy of detail married to such tender and exquisite brilliancy of style. In reading these wonderfully original essays, we feel the truth of Richard Wagner's saying, that '*Alles Verständniss kommt uns nur durch die Liebe.*'"

. It was fortunate for Hearn, and for us, that he did not spend the best years of his life in Latin countries. Japan stimulated his genius as no other country could have done. Israel Zangwill has said, in reference to Pierre Loti's *Madame chrysantheme*, that "instead of looking for the soul of a people, Pierre Loti was simply looking for a woman." Hearn wrote a remarkable essay on *The Eternal Feminine*, but his

quest did not end there. In *Gleanings in Buddha Fields* he shook off the rosy rapture of his first Japanese book. Miss Elizabeth Bisland wrote: "The visible beauty of woman, of nature, of art, grew to absorb him less as he sought for the essential principal of beauty."

We cannot use the word popular in reference to any of Hearn's work, but *Kokoro* is probably the most widely-read book, and, both in story and essay, the volume is a fine achievement. He gradually abandoned the early richness of his style in favour of "a pellucid simplicity." His biographer wrote: "The transparent shadowy weird stories of *Kwaiden* were as unlike the splendid floridity of his West Indian studies as a Shintō shrine is unlike a Gothic cathedral. These ghostly sketches might have been made by the brush of a Japanese artist; a grey whirl of water about a phantom fish—a shadow of a pine bough across the face of a spectral moon—an outline of mountains as filmy as dreams, brief, almost childishly simple, and yet suggesting things poignant, things ineffable." Whether Hearn wrote about dust or ants, stars or Nirvana, azure psychology or *frisson*, the power of glamour and emotion were never absent except in his *Japan: An Interpretation*. In that posthumous book, by some critics regarded as his finest work, there is no trace of emotionalism. It is penetrating criticism: Hearn's final judgment on Japan and the Japanese. It occupies a place by itself, and is as distinct from his other work as is *The Dynatts* from the Wessex novels. In *Japan: An Interpretation* he forgot his old worship—"the worship of the Odd, the Queer, the Strange, the Exotic, the Monstrous."

Now that Hearn's lectures on literature to Japanese students have been published¹ and widely reviewed, something must be said in reference to his literary opinions and literary influences. Was Hearn a sound critic? That his remarks in regard to many writers were extremely apt

¹ *Interpretations of Literature and Appreciations of Poetry*—Heinemann.

cannot be denied; but on the other hand he was too emotional, too sensitive, too inconsistent, to be always a sound judge of literary matters. On one occasion he praised a worthless book on account of his liking for the sender, and confessed in one of his letters: "I should certainly make a bad critic if I were acquainted with authors and their friends. One sees what does not exist whenever one loves or hates. As I am rather a creature of extremes, I should be an extremely crooked-visioned judge of work." Hearn described *Le mariage de Loti* as "the weirdest and loveliest romance ever written," and when ill, it was one of his regrets that he might never be able to read *L'Inde sans Anglais*. But his enthusiasm cooled, as it cooled in regard to De Quincey. We find Hearn rather bitterly complaining of Loti's formal typewritten letters to him, and his final comment is: "The poet became a little morbid, modern, affected Frenchman."

When Hearn praised, he praised whole-heartedly. He has never excelled the following in warmth of eulogy: "I have a book for you—an astounding book,—a godlike book... It is the finest book on the East ever written; and though very small contains more than all my library of Oriental books." The volume was Percival Lowell's *The Soul of the Far East*. He wrote of Kipling: "He is to my fixed conviction the greatest of living English poets, and greater than all before him in the line he has taken." He wrote with the same generous abandon: "Never in this world will I be able to write one page to compare with a page of his. He makes me feel so small, that after reading him I wonder why I am such an ass to write at all."

Such enthusiasm is interesting rather than valuable. It is only when Hearn's opinions are analytical, and not emotional, that they become worthy of honest criticism. He has dealt as justly with Zola and Ebers as he has written extravagantly of Gautier and Flaubert. The author of *First*

Principles, and other books devoted to synthetic philosophy, would have been amused had he read the following extravaganzas: I find my only salvation in a return to the study of the Oceanic Majesty and Power and Greatness and Holiness and Omniscience of Herbert Spencer." Edward FitzGerald would not have used more capital letters. Hearn was so steeped in neurotic literature that only occasionally his criticisms have weight. His comments on English eighteenth century literature are simply foolish, as if he were angry with Pope for not being a lotus-eater! Now and again, made a little dizzy by Hearn's literary frenzies, we stumble upon a good thing such as the following remark on Carlyle:

Assuredly Carlyle is no sweet pill to swallow; and he never guides you anywhere. He is hard reading; one feels as if travelling over broken rocks and boulders hidden by scrub. But there are lightning flashes in that apocalyptic style of his which reveal infinite things. I read only for the flashes. Even then only a little at a time, every day. Did you ever know the agony of trying to read *Sartor Resartus* for pleasure?

"The new poetry is simply rotten!" wrote Hearn, "morbidity and otherwise... There is no joy in this new world—and scarcely any tenderness: the language is the language of art, but the spirit is of Holbein and Gothic ages of religious madness." In spite of this observation he finally preferred Dobson and Watson and Lang to Wordsworth, Keats, or Shelley. Hearn quoted Watson's line on Wordsworth: "It may be thought has broadened since he died!" and playfully added: "Well, I should smile. His deepest truths have become platitudes." Hearn wrote of Swinburne: "There is nonsense in Swinburne, but he is merely a melodist and colourist. He enlarges the English tongue,—shows its richness, unsuspected flexibility, admirable sponge-power of beauty-absorption..." His criticism of Whitman was sound and neatly expressed. He wrote:

Whitman's gold seems to me in the ore: his diamonds and emeralds in the rough... Whitman's is indeed a Titanic voice; but it seems to me the voice of the giant beneath the volcano,—half stifled, half uttered—roaring betimes because articulation is impossible.....

However changeable Hearn may have been in many respects, he remained true to his literary ideal. R. A. Scott-James, writing of Joseph Conrad, observes: "There is a fable about him to the effect that when faced with the choice between writing in English and in French, he decided for English, because in France all were stylists, but in England there were none of this kidney." There is no similar fable concerning Hearn, but he was aware that English literature lacked the delicate subtleties, the artistry of style peculiar to the French, or rather to the Latin nations generally. He wrote: "It has long been my aim to create something in English fiction analogous to that warmth of colour and richness of imagery hitherto peculiar to Latin literature. Being of a meridional race myself, a Greek, I *feel* rather with the Latin race than with the Anglo-Saxon; and trust that with time and study I may be able to create something different from the stone-grey of latter-day English."

Hearn claimed that mythology, history, romance, and especially poetry, enriched fancy. He went so far as to assert that astronomy, geology, and ethnology furnished him "with wonderful and startling variety of images, symbols, and illustrations." Alive, on the emotional side, to the work of others, he believed that "when the soil of fancy is really well enriched with innumerable fallen leaves, the flowers of language grow spontaneously." The wonder is that this sensitive writer, who rushed from one shrine of praise to another, from Gautier to Kipling, and from Kipling to Herbert Spencer, should have been able to form an individual style of his own that is either the man himself, or his dream of the beautiful that came to him in the States, in the West Indies, and in Japan—that dream of poetic prose. He wrote: "Then I stopped thinking. For I saw my home—and the lights of its household gods—and my boy stretching out his hands to me—and all the simple charm and love of Old Japan. And the fairy-world seized my soul again, very softly and sweetly—

as a child might a butterfly." That is our last impression of Lafcadio Hearn, for it was from such thoughts as these that he dreamed his dream, called up to a weary and cynical and hustling world the ghostly magic of the Land of the Gods.

F. HADLAND DAVIS

TO A BUTCHER-BIRD

Come closer, let me see your glossy coat—
You needn't fear a farmer boy like me,
For truly I enjoy your company—
Come, let me hear the song that's in your throat.
Pick up the fattest grubs my plow throws out,
And carry to that hungry brood I found
In yonder bulky nest, high off the ground,
With feathers lined within, and twigs without.
Your acts of cruelty I long have known;
I've seen the meadow-mice, and sparrows too
Which you impale on barb or thorny snag.
And yet, that hunter with a blood-stained bag
Who passed a while ago—he's worse than you.
You kill to live—he kills for sport alone.

WAYNE GARD

LONG YEARS AGO

When the stars begin to gleam,
A soft breeze thro' my casement steals,
It blows from the rustling mango-groves
Where the tender blossoms hang.

The stars were gleaming bright
When thou and I long years ago
Went thro' the whisp'ring mango-grove,
Went—we knew not whither.

Thy garments flew about,
The scattered blossoms clung to thee,
Thy loosened tresses gently blew
Against my heated brow.

I spoke not, nor didst thou,
'Twas still but for the swaying boughs
And the soft recurring rhythmic song
Of thy golden bangles.

Ah, then what ecstasy
Enwapt the vast blue dome of night,
We saw a vista ope before us
That held eternal joy.

And now when the stars gleam bright
A soft breeze blows from the mango-grove,
Bringing a whirl of fresh perfume
And fragments of a shattered dream !

V. B.

MR. MARKHAM'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PREFACE

It was at Salcombe in Devonshire. I answered a ring at the door one day. I hoped it was the postman, but it was a gentleman with a black beard. He asked if the house was the one Froude lived in when he dwelt at Salcombe.

"That explains it," I replied.

"That explains what?"

"My writing history of late with much more accuracy than formerly. Come in, and I will read you some."

I read as follows:

CHAPTER I

Good Queen Bess was gathered to her fathers in 1066, the year little William was sent to Eton. Her rightful successor was her son Henry, who would have been the eighth king of that name; but Parliament, knowing that you may have too much of a good thing, and that the line must be drawn somewhere; looking, too, to Henry's excessive corpulency, and fearing for the stability of the throne—Parliament, having duly perpended these, set Henry aside, and appointed Charles Elia instead. He was as good a man as he had been a diligent scholar. Once, found seated under the table, he was asked what he did. "I con Basilike" was the prompt reply. He is known in the history books, sometimes as Saint Charles, sometimes as good King Elia. He introduced the Beef-eaters to court, and invented the ceremonies of Saint Valentine's Day. He was loved by his people, and attended in person all the executions that took place during his reign. Lack of space precludes our mentioning more than three—those of Thomas Carlyle, for sowing dyspepsia among the people; of the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, Samuel Coleridge, for losing the National Debt in a maze of metaphysics, so that when it was wanted (to see what it had grown to), nobody could find it; and of John Henry Newman, for making the worse appear the better reason. But some were not of his Majesty's opinion.

King Elia proclaimed his sister Queen, but Parliament never fully ratified that act, and Queen Mary was not always prayed for in the churches. The thought of it a little marred her quiet games of whist, but she generally managed to win the rubber.

The King had trouble with his barons, whom he wished should learn to read. It was Matthew Arnold's idea. His Majesty approved it, and himself prepared a history of England for the barons to use. Knowing their great interest in feasting, he caused diligent enquiry to be made regarding the favourite dishes of his predecessors, and never omitted mention of them. He may even have drawn a little on his imagination, heaven having endowed him with no small share, little as the second Chancellor, William Wordsworth, was in the habit of suspecting it. The stories of Arthur and the burnt cakes, John's surfeit of lampreys, Clarence's butt of Malmsey wine, George's asking however the apples got inside the dumplings, and his saying that a goose was a foolish bird, being too much for one, but not enough for two—these are all suspected by Stubbs of being Elian fictions. But Stubbs was ever a dull fellow.

Once, while King Elia and his second Chancellor were upon an Excursion, Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and the Duke of Devonshire were sent by the other barons as a deputation to the King at Runnymede. Wordsworth introduced them, and was in the middle of a longish Prelude, when King Elia, cutting him short, asked the Duke what they wanted of him. "A half-holiday every Wednesday, your gracious Majesty," was the reply. The King benignantly granted it, and it has ever since been known as Magna Charta. It a

little reconciles the barons to the teaching of history, which, however, one fears they do not really lay to heart.

The King set men to compile a great Dictionary, and appointed Sir Thomas Browne to supervise the work. He fostered all polite learning. His court was thronged by William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, and Webster. They no doubt exercised a refining influence on the race; yet to this day, and even at Oxford, there is more talk of roast beef and dumpling than of the drama.

England was indeed Merrie England in good King Elia's day. Even the *Spectator* was bright.

CHAPTER II

When Queen Mary died, King Elia did what he had long deferred doing out of consideration for her—he married his sweetheart, Lorna Dōone. The English were very proud of Queen Lorna, and hoped that she would have a son. It was not to be, however: the only children their Majesties had were dream children. They died in a ripe old age, and were buried side by side in the Abbey. The Pope of Rome and the Kings and Queens of Europe attended the funeral, and all England so flocked to London, that it is said that for a week not a cottage chimney was seen to smoke outside the five mile radius.

The Long Parliament, the same that on good Queen Bess's demise had set Henry aside as too fat, with that inconsistency that endears girls to men, and would, you would think, endear Parliaments too, but does not do so to anything like the same degree—the same Parliament, known in the history books as the Long, appointed Sir John Falstaff to succeed King Elia. So we must bid farewell to that good king, and get on with the story of King John, the Fat. He was a good King too. If England could have her wish, she would never have but two kings, King John for the even days of the week, and King Elia for the odd.

Some thought that King John would make Prince Hal his Chancellor, but he bade him begone, and be no more seen at Court. Others thought that he would appoint the Lord Chief Justice, but he did not, but made him Conservator of the Royal Forests. Having found places for the other judges, he closed all the noisome courts of law, his heart being much set upon that reform. Cases were heard in his reign by the parish vicars, those upon whom too much work devolved being supplied with sermons of King John's own writing. The only court fees paid were two pence for ale for the king, and a penny for snuff for the vicar: but it is calculated that three pence in those days had the value of seven pence half penny of our time.

The King retained the chief-justiceship as an honorary post, and conferred it upon Justice Slender. He said that he might occasionally have legal nuts to crack himself: but it is suspected that his motive was the facility that Slender's being at hand afforded for cracking jokes. Slender tried but one case—that of Macaulay, who was charged with partiality to Dutch William in his account of the troubles of King James's reign. He was found guilty, and sentenced to death; but the King granted him his life, but on two conditions. First, that he repeated no more idle lists of popes' and archbishops' names, whether forward or backward, at Lady Holland's breakfast parties, but went to Paris and Padua, and tried to pick up a little wisdom; secondly, that he said, every night after prayers, "a gentleman would have been civil even to Croker." King John was of a humour with many queer twists in it.

The King was fond of going down to Oxford to see how they got on with the great Dictionary. He would ask Sir Thomas Browne what word they were got to, and, if he remembered having used it in one of his sermons, he would set Tom Quincey, his clerk, to search out the passage, and give it to Sir Thomas to quote. That occasioned the long delay

over the word *sack*; for the King had used it, in his sermon on Temperance, in a sense in which they had none of them ever heard it used. Those were days before they feasted in Oxford, the example of which they probably first had from King John himself. They thought that, should they wait long enough, the king would forget; but he got wind of it, and sent for them all to Windsor, saying: "if they have never drunk sack, they shall have some of the King's own!" A great night they made of it till four in the morning; so that when, some years later, Sir Thomas and his men got to *temperance*, there were prickings of conscience.

The King slept where he sat till six, then called Kate, his Queen, to make him a pocketful of bacon sandwiches, while he changed his shirt; "for," said he, "I go to Hughenden to talk accounts with Chancellor Disraeli. The malt tax must have brought in more! You and I, Kate, have drunk as much to our own share, and, if I know him, John Bull has got outside a deal of ale this hot summer."

It is not known how many years longer King John would have reigned, if he had not fallen from his horse, and been killed, while racing over Epsom Downs with the Vicar of Clapham. They had got at Oxford to *sere*, which some afterwards thought an ill omen. As Macaulay died the year before the King's fall, he had no satisfaction of his death; but that is hardly enough to reconcile us to the loss of so truly good and great a man.

CHAPTER III

With King John's death began the sad Age of Materialism. Only the girls with money were sought in marriage. A young man with plenty of his own, such as Prince Arthur, could have his pick of the pretty ones. He married a gipsy, Cleopatra, strangely beautiful. Certain sour people of the Parliament petitioned King John against the match, not liking such encouragement of vagrancy, but the King said a pretty

face at table was the next best thing after the roast upon it. So Prince Arthur had his wish.

Happening to hear Chancellor Disraeli speak at Oxford on the side of the Angels, the Prince was pricked with an ambition to excel in debate. He made many speeches, both as Prince and as King; so that he is known to History as Arthur, the Speech Maker. He sorely puzzled his subjects, who were used to plainer speech; but if they did not know what he meant, be sure the King himself did. His oftenest quoted speech is the one he made to the Barons, when they appeared in audience to say that they had learned to read, and would like now to have opinions. The King had been ready, his Majesty said, to do all the thinking that was necessary, and it was wonderful how much of the country's business could be done with none. Still if they wished to have opinions, let them have as many as they had a mind for. If they would let him know what they were, he would write a defence of each.

The Age of Materialism (1210 A.D. to 1227 A.D.) was blown away by the thunder of the Great War. What occasioned the war was the non-payment of the sum that Kaiser Barbarossa owed Prince Arthur. The Prince had betted the Kaiser that there were more buttercups in England than in all the Holy Roman Empire, and so it was found to be, when they were counted. Barbarossa would have paid the money, being a gentleman; but he died while the enumeration was yet incomplete, and his successors were cast in other moulds. King Arthur waited long, but, his patience being then exhausted, he finally summoned the Privy Council to consider whether there should be a war, or not a war. John Morley was of opinion that there was not ground enough for so bloody a business; but "not so," said Will Shakespeare.

"Rightly to be great
Is not to stir without great argument,
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw."

"Which you certainly would," said his Majesty, "if it was the last one."

The debate would have taken the turn the King had meant to give it (supposing, that is, that someone understood what turn that was), if little Mister George had not interrupted with: "Without great argument—great *armament*, you mean!" "Hear hear!" said the Duke. "I leave the paraphernalia of war to your Grace!" said Shakespeare. "We are now upon matters of politick." So they decided for war.

It was a long business, and, God knows, would have gone on longer, if word had not come to the armies that England was overrun with foxes. So they made a hasty peace with Wilhelm's men, and all came home. It was thought not right to let them come unnoticed, as at the end of other wars; so, as each man came to Dover, he was given a wash and a brush-up.

The printing of the great Dictionary had to be suspended during the war, because of the shortage of paper; and ~~when~~ there were no curl-papers left, and because the value of paper money had not fallen quite low enough to make Treasury Notes a reasonable substitute, hair-bobbing, before confined to girls, crept in among elderly ladies. Mrs. Markham bobbed hers.

King Arthur's intellect remained as keen as a razor, even when he had grown a very old man. When all his subjects were dreadfully confused about tariffs, he still could clearly see that there were two sides to the question, and just where the one shaded into the other.

CHAPTER IV

For some time after the war England was Merrie England again. The girls had all worked very hard, and it had done their figures good. Never were such pretty complexions seen, nor such paces as of fauns'; and the young men who walked

with them in the streets had blue silk handkerchiefs peeping out of their pockets. It had been intended that there should be no more of the old cynicism (rightly understood, however, there was very little of the cynic in Kings Elia, John and Arthur), but that the young men and the girls should rule the world with innocence. It was soon found that the war had not made everything quite simple, as everybody believed at the time that it would. Even Mrs. Markham did, and she had laid the teaching of history to heart. So things had to be left to the old politicians, as King Arthur had known all along that they would have to be, and there were plenipotentiaries, preambles, and ratifications, all as in the evil days of Talleyrand and Metternich. And troubles thickened and thickened, so that the annals of the time are too painful to linger over. It all sprang from the people's belief that if you took two from three, in a world so changed, you would have five left over. At last a better day dawned. It came from the example of Edward, the Lazy. Once he was plain Mr. FitzGerald, but when King Arthur died, which they knew he had from what the doctors said, not from the King's last Message, which was ambiguous, Parliament made him King.

King Edward's example was, to shut up his palace, and live in the porter's lodge, because then one old woman could look after him; to stay at home, because that saved packing portmanteaus; to go on wearing his old clothes, because that saved emptying the pockets; and, if troubles were brewing, to get into an old lugger, with *Sophocles* or *Don Quixote*, and stay at sea till they were sure to have blown over. His subjects tried his way of living for a week. They then found that big houses were better to live in, new clothes good to wear, the world good to see; but they also found, and in this the king's example was the leaven, that these things must be worked hard for, which would leave no time for *Sophocles* and *Don Quixote*. The Barons were afraid that the King would insist on the reading; so they sent a deputation. When he

heard their footsteps in the passage, the King slipped out at a window, and got on board his lugger, where he stayed till after harvest. The window is still shown.

The King married Lucy Snowe for the odd reason that he felt sure that no one would ever guess what had made him think of doing it. It was not a happy marriage. It was the Queen's idea that the King should dress for breakfast, which was the last thing he had ever intended.

King Edward studied Persian, and translated Omar, in which example he has had many followers ; but none of them have gained the *kudos* that the King did, for the same reason that in the "Sketch," the "Tatler," and the "Sphere" the only portraits to be seen are those of the nobility. Or if there are any others, they are those of actresses with not very much on, which is John Bull's other interest. But this is to forget eating.

CHAPTER V

In the next reign fell the war of the sexes, in the course of which the ladies, not uncoun tenanced by Mrs. Markham, committed great outrages ; but it must be owned that they had strong provocation. The last bill to receive the Royal Assent in King Edward's reign was the Act of Succession, by which succession to the throne was made to depend upon competitive examination. It was Macaulay's wish at length fulfilled. The King gave his assent unwillingly ; but then he did everything unwillingly except sit still and do nothing.

The men who would be king were to be examined in Greek, Latin, English Composition and Sums : the girls who would be queen were to be examined in the last two only. The ladies thought it invidious that they should not be examined in all-four, adding : "A girl who should not know to put 'ego' before 'rex meus' would be anomalous as queen." "There is more in Latin than that," the men

retorted. "May be," the ladies shouted back, "but is it worth speaking of?" So the battle was fairly joined, and worse was to follow.

Chancellor Disraeli did best among the men. He dropped some marks over Greek and Latin, but he more than made them good in the other subjects. Having half an hour to spare before the papers were handed in, he spent it in taking stock of the girls, and, having marked down Kate Dodd, from the ink on her fingers and the way the tip of her tongue was to be seen at one corner of her mouth, as the girl who was doing best, he considered how he would like her as queen. The result was seen when the proof of the *gazette* was submitted to his Majesty. He deleted "Kate Dodd has done best," and substituted, "None of the female candidates came up to the required standard." My God, what a row there was.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury, the examiner, expostulated with the King, his Majesty said: "It was true, ~~your~~ Grace, in the esoteric sense, and, as a theologian, you should know what that means."

The Chancellor learned his finance from King John, who had no equal in making other people's money go a long way. His intellects were too strong to be confused by King Arthur's nice distinctions, and, if another would have caught the spirit of *laissez-faire* from King Edward, the Chancellor was then too old to change. All this was of inestimable advantage to King Dizzy; for it often fell to him to impose a new tax. When he stood before the House in robes of an exquisite cut and hue, with the curl lying composedly on his forehead, and, with a gesture that held the House spellbound, cut off in the air the figures after the decimal point that were beneath the dignity of Parliament to notice, all agreed that it was superb acting. Even Mr. Gladstone felt for an instant that life was more comic than real and earnest.

But the King was old and lonely, and would rather have written *Hamlet*, and have played the ghost in it at Drury

Lane. He loved the rustle of women's skirts and the clapping of their soft hands.

EPILOGUE

I laid down my pen five minutes ago in a little room that looks out upon an alley that leads to Fleet Street. I take it up to add a few words. I should never have toiled to the last of these dusty pages without Mrs Markham's pure example to goad me on. I have thought to pay my debt with here and there a kindly reference to her, trusting that such revelations of connubial felicity would not be held to fall beneath the dignity of history. May I live to see my book printed, and housed with hers at the British Museum. Not given the same pride of place, to be sure, yet not banished to a too vacant subterranean cave.

J. A. CHAPMAN

SONG

My love is like this holly leaf
I plucked in Oxford town—
This holly leaf that still was green
When other leaves were brown.

The heedless years can ne'er dissolve
Nor can the oceans drown
The love that with this holly leaf
I send from Oxford town.

WAYNE GARD

MORE WORK MORE PAY

It has often been remarked that the Bengali cultivator is a man of leisure. He works hard for a few days in the year when he ploughs his land and sows his seeds, when he transplants his paddy and if he does not hire labourers to do it, when he reaps his crop, but while the crop is in the ground, or the fields lying vacant and he is waiting for a shower or two of rain to soften them sufficiently to make ploughing easy, he has next to nothing to do. His children look after his cattle. He has no dairy work for he holds it beneath his dignity to sell milk and the difficulty of distribution stands in his way, and beyond seeing to his little vegetable patch and doing petty repairs to his homestead he has no work to occupy his time. Much of it he spends in doing nothing. His habit of going regularly to most of the markets within reach takes up a considerable part of it. In nearly every village there is party faction and if he is bitten with the mania for it he spends much of his time in disputes that not infrequently lead to litigation and absorb both time and money.

All this is common knowledge but it is not so commonly appreciated that his poverty is very largely accounted for by the fact that he does so little work. The kindness of the climate renders necessary comforts few. A house built for warmth and to keep out the draughts is by no means required, and clothes are worn for decency and not for warmth. Food is necessary but in so warm a climate the health of the race is better without meat, the most expensive item in the budget for food in colder countries. It is for such reasons that the little labour which falls to the lot of the Bengali cultivator has not yet rendered it necessary for him to turn to other forms of industry.

There is another reason, less obvious than these, which saves him from having to find other employment and incidentally

helps to keep him poor. That is the minute subdivision of holdings. The number of landless labourers is comparatively small and many of them are immigrants from the adjoining province of Bihar. At the Census of 1911 men who were returned as cultivators of their own land were more than six and a half times as many as those who were returned as field labourers. The proportion in Eastern Bengal was more than 26 times. In England and Wales on the contrary the employees working for farmers were three and a half times as many as the farmers themselves. The farmer does not employ a labourer unless he has enough work for him to do to keep him going and the number of men retained in employment depends on the work to be done. The Bengali cultivator, on the other hand, with his rights in his land is not to be expected to give it up because it offers him less labour than would fill his time, so long as it gives him enough to live on.

Figures, which will show that this labour is so little, and will afford a means of comparison between the work required of the cultivator here and elsewhere, should in this connection prove interesting. Taking Bengal as a whole the cultivated area including current fallow according to the returns of the Agricultural Department is 289,921,736 acres, and the number of males engaged in cultivation of all kinds (including herdsmen) according to the Tables of the last Census (1911) was 9,129,793. This is the number of actual workers exclusive of their dependents and gives one worker to every 3.176 acres.

In some of the more densely populated districts, especially in Eastern Bengal, the number of acres per male worker in agriculture is even less as the following figures will show :

District.	Cultivated area in acres.	Male workers in agriculture.	Acres per male worker.
Tippah	1,092,365	532,356	2.05
Mymensingh,	2,417,894	1,111,319	2.20
Rangpur	1,702,258	656,026	2.59
Dacca	1,355,653	515,134	2.63
Faridpur	1,279,900	443,121	2.89

The cultivated area of England and Wales is just over 26 million acres. According to the Census of 1911 the number of male workers in agricultural occupations was 1,253,859. These figures give 21 acres per worker. In 1851 in England and Wales the number of male workers in agricultural pursuits was 1,544,089 and the cultivated area was not less than now-a-days. This gives one man for about 17 acres in the days before mechanical appliances had to any considerable extent been brought in to assist the farmer. In the great wheat-producing countries of the world, for instance in the Western States of America and in the Argentine, where mechanical appliances and power are more used than in England, the acreage per worker is very much larger. •

The comparison between England and Bengal shows that the average agricultural worker in England works more than six and a half times as much land as the average worker in Bengal as a whole, and more than ten times as much land as the cultivator in Tippera district. The amount of work he does is probably still greater in proportion, for the rice lands of Bengal yield their crops with less attention than almost any land in the world. The easy methods of Bengal applied to the root crops in England would ensure their total failure.

Since the agriculturist cannot be expected to sacrifice his rights in his land and go in search of work in industrial centres except in the last extremity, the only amelioration of present conditions in Bengal that seems possible is to bring work within reach of the cultivator near his own village in the hope that he will put his hand to it. This no doubt is the reasoning of the more thoughtful of those who preach the use of the *charka*, and it is sound as far as it goes. The difficulty is that the economy of hand spinning is beyond hope. That of the handloom however is not, as is clearly proved by the large number of such looms existing and regularly worked, and the fact that it shows no indication of

decreasing. But weaving is almost completely in the hands of certain functional castes among the Hindus which are ordinarily divorced from agriculture. The Muhammadan *Jolaha* who has a little land now calls himself *Shekh* or *Momin*, and avoids the title of *Jolaha* and all its significance. The Hindu castes whose traditional occupation is agriculture have never taken to weaving and are not likely to do so. Such an occupation as basket-making affords so poor a return for labour compared with the return it produces in agriculture that it is never likely to commend itself to the cultivator. Salvation is, therefore, not likely to come by the development of cottage industries.

It is true that the population continues to increase fast in Eastern Bengal and that the increase is as high in the most densely populated parts in Dacca, Tippera and Noakhali districts as anywhere. The soil, therefore, does not yet support the greatest population it is able to maintain at the present standard of living, but it seems that the raising of this standard can only be expected if some means can be found to tempt industrial enterprise away from the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta.

W. H. THOMPSON

THE ROSE OF INDIA

ACT II

SCENE I

[*Scene.* Outside the city gate, Narankot,¹ India. An empty throne set, a crowd, beggars, etc.]

1st man—

Indra be praised ; his wrath on every miser
And every niggard *baniya*² for his greed !
To *Indra*³ now with draught of *Soma*⁴ juice
I make libation. Come, thou mighty One,
Visit thy humble worshipper's abode,
And to my stable drive the lowing kine.

2nd man—

And with thine eye regard the dying corn,
The famished meadow and the failing stream.
Great Thunder-armed on *Vritra* hurling doom
Who kept the waters prisoned in his hold,
Mad challenger of thy imperious might
To his own undoing. Come, avenging One,
Set free the waters on our parched fields,
And lest enervated from stint of *Soma* juice
Thy right hand slacken, from my poverty
I pour to thee libation shining clear.

¹ Narankot—fort of Narayan, a name given to *Vishnu*, commonly considered to be a sun-god. The town is called in the Legend Helioforum, i.e., City of the Sun-god.

² *Baniya*—grain-seller.

³ *Indra*—the Indian Hercules, also the god of thunder. He is the Vanquisher of the dragon *Vritra*, setting free the waters which the dragon kept imprisoned in his mountain castle. As god of battles *Indra* wins a victory over the *Panis* (human misers) and drives away their herds.

⁴ *Soma*—a golden and highly intoxicating drink prepared from a plant found on the Himalayas, and much used for libations at sacrifices.

1st man—

'Tis a bad year ; in Gondophares now
 •May *Indra* speed to aid us, and his sway
 Bring blessing on the people of this land.

(*Enter St. Thomas and Habban.*)

St. Thomas—

What means this multitude without the gate ?

Habban—

They gather here to greet the *Maharajah*
 This day returning to his citadel,
 Some to present petitions of their needs
 Or cry on him for justice all alike
 To win the favour of the gods, when he
 Displays the sunshine of his countenance.

St. Thomas—

When once they turn them to the King of Kings,
 Blessings indeed shall rain on them from Heaven.

(*Stir among the crowd and cries of "The King, the King ! Long live great Gondophares !" Procession enters—at end of which and under a golden canopy are Gondophares and Treptia.*¹ *The crowd prostrate themselves, all but St. Thomas, and Habban who salaams profoundly*).

Gondophares (pausing)—

Habban ! to Narankot returned at last !
 Though late thou comest, thou art welcome home.

Habban (falling on his knees)—

Too gracious for the hearing of a slave
 This greeting from thy lips—divinity!

¹ Treptia—Tirupatti, the spouse of the god. The King was commonly addressed as *Devan* or god. It is against Indian custom to call women by their proper names. They are referred by their distinguishing titles.

Gondophares—

Rise— 'tis our trust in thy good services
O'erlooks thy late arrival, in our joy
Of now beholding thee. Never was time
Our empty coffers yawned so wide for gold,
Nor famine so impoverished our land.

Voices from the crowd—

We have no grain, O bounteous one, supply us!
We starve, O feed us! O divine one, hear!
Be merciful, as *Rama* is merciful.

(Gondophares ascends the throne—the Queen seating herself beside him; the crowd again fall on their faces except St. Thomas.)

Gondophares (aside)—

Is he a god that he should slight me thus?

(addressing crowd)

For you, my people, ne'er did father's heart
For his own children beat more tenderly
Than mine for your distresses. Ne'er was brow
With care more weighted than this crownèd head.

St. Thomas—

Save one, whose crown was of acanthus twined.

(Gondophares frowns on St. Thomas, and he resumes)

Times are when all too heavy to be borne
The burden of a people's suffering weighs,
A leaden mass, on one anointed head

St. Thomas—

Love and love only, tireless, infinite
Avails to lift the sorrows of the world.

Habban—

Peace, an thou love me, lest thou anger him !

Gondophares—

Yet, O my people, am I come to-day
Not empty-handed nor without relief. (*Applause.*)
Lo, even now before the city gates
Stands Habban, ever worthy merchantman,
His camels laden with Judæan gold.

Crowd—

Habban *ki jai*,¹ Habban *ki jai*, Habban *ki jai* :

Gondophares (to Habban)—

Thou seest the motherland hath need of it !
Say, quick, what weight of gold thou carriest.

Habban—

O let not Gondophares be extreme
To mark what I his slave have wrought amiss !
In Judah's towns I pressed thy merchandise
On sons of avarice who looked askance
At its true value, yet with fevered zest
Clamoured their own mean prices to obtain ;
And I, such meagre bargains loth to strike,
Would fain thy treasures, dazzling one, have spared
To thine advantage, had I not remembered
My master's and my country's need of gold.

Gondophares—

A truce to this preamble ! Fellow, say,
How much all told, is in thy money bags ?

Habban—

O with thy servant be not over-wroth !
Two hundred talents cover it and more.

¹ Long live Habban

Gondophares (rising in anger)—

By *Vishnu*, I am poorly served in thee!
 And made the fool of thy rash barterings—
 Who in Aladdin-wise, without his sense,
 Criest “ New lamps for old ” and in exchange
 For *covries* givest pearls—for copper, gold.
 What of my diamond, O degeperate?

Habban—

The price it fetched is also here contained!

Gondophares—

Now *Rama*¹ provoke thee with a thousand plagues,
 And *Indra* smite thee! not, howbeit, until
 My justice deal with thee as faithfully
 As has thy wastrel folly done by me:
 Not till my whips have scored upon thy back
 — A lesson for every rogue to learn by rote,
 And glowing irons branded on thy flesh
 Their monument of thy dishonesty.

Habban—

O lightning-wielder! Yet be merciful:

St. Thomas—

King, not in terrors doth thy glory lie:
 The justice that requites must be divine,
 And love alone the vengeance that repays.

Gondophares—

Who is this stranger fellow, thus who dares
 E'en before kings to make presumptuous speech?

¹ Ram,—or Rama, the hero of the Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana, popularly believed to have been an incarnation of the Supreme Being.

St. Thomas—

Thomas, the servant of the King of Kings.

Gondophares—

This passes bearing ! Seize him, men at arms,
And bind him hand and foot with Habban here ;
Then to the dungeon with them both away !

(*Guards seize and bind St. Thomas and Habban.*)

Treptia—

O good my lord, will not this gold afford
Relief, if not removal of our needs ?

Gondophares (in softer tones)—

Treptia, thou know'st not ; what can woman know ?
Two hundred talents ! Why, 'tis not enough
To build me half the palace of my dreams,
Let be to sate this hungry multitude.

(*Crowd murmurs.*)

St. Thomas—

Yet, wisely spent, it will avail for both.

Gondophares—

Who was it spoke ? (*Sees prisoners*)

Do they yet linger here ?

Away with them ! Yet would I know his drift.

What is thy meaning, fellow ? Answer me.

St. Thomas—

First bid, O king, thy men unloose these bonds
Which strangle laws of hospitality
To which all peoples of the earth must bow.
Is this my welcome unto Narankot ?

Gondophares—

May be I was too hasty—loosen him.

(Slaves unbind St. Thomas).

St. Thomas—

For Habban, likewise, do I ask this grace,
To whom, O king, thou dost a grievous wrong
And grave injustice to his loyalty.

Treptia—

Ay, good my lord, he meant to serve thee well.

Gondophares—

I doubt it, yet I would not judge too soon.

(To slaves.)

Unbind him then, and set him free awhile. *(They loose Habban)*

Gondophares (continuing)—

Let them draw nigh. Habban, explain thyself !
A queen vouchsafes to intercede for thee.

Habban—

Her grace is merciful ; yet I would die.
What worth hath life since thou hast doubted me ?

Gondophares—

Nay, nay,—'twas in me but a passing phase.
How should I doubt thy proven loyalty ?
Habban, old friend, I scarce have welcomed thee,
Nor him thou bringest with thee—Who is he ?

Habban—

Most gracious Master, Thomas Didymus—
A great *Mahatma*, bringing tidings strange
Of One who died and took His life again :

Withal an architect of wondrous skill,
Master of building and masonic arts.

Gondophares—

Right welcome is he to our royal court,
And lest he blame us for discourtesy,
We place our royal chain about his neck
And bid him next our person at the feast.

(Places gold chain about St. Thomas' neck.)

St. Thomas—

Great King, I humbly offer thee my thanks
And pray for blessings on thy crown and realm.
I come to thee with tidings that shall bring
Wealth more abundant unto thee and thine
Than all the treasures of the earth can buy.

Gondophares—

Right sore we need it. Prithee, wise *Mahatma*,
Interpret thy dark saying, that the gold
Spent wisely, shall suffice to build a palace,
And sate the hunger of my people too.

St. Thomas—

First thou must feed these hungry multitudes,
Else shall thy palace in its dreamland stay,
For their relief distribute half this gold,
The other half entrusting unto me.
Who with that means will such a palace build thee
As earthly monarch ne'er inhabited.

Gondophares—

Draw up the plans, trace out the fair design,
To glad our eyes ere twice a day shall dawn,
Then half the gold shall be at thy disposal
To build our palace ere we come again.

The half remaining our decree assigns
Unto our people's need in Narankot.

(*Cries of "Jai, jai, jai, Gondophares ! Thomas Mahatma
ki jai !"*)

Gondophares (rising)—

In *Indra's* name, the mighty thunder-armed,
With *Agni's*¹ shielding favour over us,
We, Heaven's anointed, close this audience.

(*Clang of cymbals, beating of tom-toms. King, Queen,
and courtiers pass through city gates. Habban and Thomas
linger outside*).

Habban—

Ishwar be praised ! the thunder-cloud that lowered
So black o'er-head is lifted, and the rage
Of kings is as a dust-storm blown away.

St. Thomas—

God's angel came and shut the lion's mouth.

FRANCIS A. JUDD

CURTAIN.

(*To be continued*)

¹ *Agni* is the god of fire. As the fire on the household hearth *Agni* is the friend and protector of man.

AUGUST STRINDBERG

IV

GRADUAL RECOVERY AND CHANGED OUTLOOK : 1896-1899.

While relentlessly pursued by persecution mania at Mademoiselle Charlotte's Crêmarie in Rue de la Grand Chaumière, Strindberg vainly sought the help of his Bohemian artist friends and next applied himself with devotion to the study of Swedenborg's *Arcana Cœlestia* towards the end of 1896 which considerably dispelled his horrors as is clear from his own record—"He has shown me the only path to salvation * * * through repentance." In his visions he now began to feel that Orfila and Swedenborg directly addressed him soothing words of hope and consolation through a spiritual bond with his soul. We know another Swedenborgian, namely Blake, who claimed similar guidance from Virgil and Dante. Comfort came to him also through a sense of divine protection impressed on his troubled mind by the Book of Job which created in him a feeling of nearness with God. In 1896 he came also under the influence of his second wife's mother who was a Catholic and this close contact induced in him a devotional mood which fundamentally changed his early intellectual and scientific tendency leading slowly to a religious evolution having for its basis a strong belief in a personal God and as its central tenets acceptance of the law of *Karma* and faith in reincarnation. Thus in his *Advent* (1899) the "Old Lady" observes—"you cannot all of a sudden cease to be what you are: and you are what you have wanted to become," and, again, "we suffer only what our deeds have deserved—so don't complain."

The points of similarity between the Catholic Church and Swedenborgian mysticism possibly made it easy for Catholicism to find an entrance into his life and he now declared himself a Christian—"a Protestant with Catholic sympathies."

In spite of struggles and strivings he began in 1897 to slowly emerge out of his bitter trial with a calm conviction that with all its heavy weight of sufferings and disappointments, life is valuable if properly viewed as an ordeal sure to teach us to know the right and to do it. His rebellious nature and riotous life were subdued by resignation to suffering as of great value in life's mission and by the hope of something higher and better.

How summarily he now rejected many of his former thoughts and ideas becomes clear from many significant touches and hints in plays like *There are Crimes and Crimes* (1899), *the Advent* (1899) and the *Dream Play* (1902). With rare depth and sincerity of feeling he has left in several works of supreme autobiographical interest belonging to 1897—1904 a record of his slow ascent to the tableland of regenerating hope from the slough of doubt and despond leading gradually to serener heights of inner harmony. His *Interno* (1897) represents the period of spiritual storm and stress and *To Damascus* in 3 parts (1898-1904) is a revelation of his soul's evolution presenting with a kind of religious realism the author's multiple personality and consciousness—a strange and perplexing blend of sensualism and asceticism, individualism and socialism, materialism and transcendentalism, and science and mysticism. Lastly comes the meditative autobiography *Alone* (1903) which delineates how his spiritualised consciousness recovered from the turmoil of rebellious ferment. His hostility with the Ibsenites also came to an end as if all passions spent tranquillity was restored.

Under the influence of the spiritual visions of Swedenborg the last vestiges of his materialistic scepticism faded away before the dawning light of a mystic faith clearly visible in the highly symbolic treatment of the theme of the superiority of the Gospel over law in his mystery-play of *Advent* (1899) so rich in Swedenborgian suggestiveness (especially in the two Waiting Room scenes in Acts IV and V). In Act III "The Other One," says to the Judge, "It is justice ; it is the

law : an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth ! The Gospel has a different sound, but of that you didn't want to hear." •

In March 1898 we find him growing spiritually whole through the richness of new religious experiences and ideas as well as the direct God-vision vouchsafed unto him. The spirit's long voyage over the troubled waters of conflicting intellectual currents led at last to a discovery of his higher self and of the real end and aim of a life of bitter struggles and apparently futile endeavours. Pessimism, it is true, does not wholly die out even in the last stage of Strindberg's life in spite of the fundamental change in his outlook brought about now. He continues to be realistic in his presentation of life's trials, sufferings, disappointments, its recurrences and repetitions but his realism becomes touched with a new faith in goodness, in the power of regeneration possessed by man's soul ; and his close observation of life in all its variety and complexity leads to a spiritual vision in which occult powers appear to be ever at work guiding and shaping man's destiny mysteriously. Glimpses of a higher life give a new meaning to our struggles, vain endeavours and to suffering in particular. In the *Advent* (1899) when Amelia penitently says that she suffers for her inability to love, as a child should, her mother who is not only indifferent to her but hostile and actually hates her as no mother ought to, the Neighbour's reply is " Well, as that has made you suffer, then you will soon learn the great secret of your life." Amelia's remonstrance against undeserved suffering—suffering without a cause—is met by the Neighbour's consoling words that " to be permitted to suffer unjustly, that's a grace and a trial out of which steadfast souls bring home golden fruits." Similarly in the *Dance of Death* (1901) Curt holds that " it is the unmistakable right of every human being to suffer misfortune." Thus suffering which in his earlier stage of life implied punishment for breach of natural laws now gathers a new significance and in the Maeterlinckian mystic play of *Swanwhite*

(1902) the spirit of Swanwhite's mother proposes to that of the Prince that the love between Swanwhite and the Prince that has made "heart kiss heart and soul enfold soul and may turn sorrow to joy and bring cheer to all the earth must be tested by the fire of sufferings." What a grand new idea is this of the baptism of the highest form of love in the fire of suffering!

The end of his terrible striving after peace of mind is well illustrated by his suggestive intimate touches of beautiful self-confession which read, with a characteristic difference, like significant extracts from Amiel's *Journal* :—

"The great crisis at the age of fifty; revolution in the life of the soul, desert wanderings, Swedenborgian Heavens and Hells"¹—leading to

"Light after darkness, new productivity with recovered Faith, Hope and Love—and with full rock-firm certitude."²

Strindberg eventually became "registered as a Protestant of the Swedenborgian caste," though his religion was to the last distinctly characterized by an essentially ethical tone on which he never failed to lay unmistakable emphasis. This ethical note is particularly dominant in his *Advent* with its strong insistence on the supreme need of unquestioning obedience, humility, patience, a good conscience and on the value of goodness even to enemies.³ "The Franciscan" asserts emphatically "You may be sure that there will be no blessing for your house and no peace for yourself until you have suffered every suffering that you have brought on others" (*Advent* p. 118). So also in *The Dream Play* (1902) special stress is laid on the moral value of duty, of endurance, patience with the complaints of others and on the absolute need of forgiveness. We are exhorted to "say nothing evil of men, to quietly endure, and never grow impatient of the complaints made by the poor," and reminded that "there should be no

¹ Cf. "Advent," Act I, p. 119; Act III, pp. 134, 140, 141, 143; Act IV, p. 161, and Act V, pp. 153, 166, 168, 173, 177 and 178—Plays, Third Series

² Edwin Bjorkman's Introduction to Second Series of Plays.

³ Cf. Plays, Third Series, pp. 148, 150, 154, 163 and 165.

bargaining about one's duty." and that "remorse is sure to follow every neglected duty and every suffering inflicted upon one's fellow-beings." In *There are Crimes and Crimes*, the Abbé's solemn warning is "woe unto those who call evil good and good evil." There is in it a firm belief in punishment for trifling with vice. With Madame Catherine forgiveness is a religion and she ever helps along "where she sees hard work and the right kind of will." Even Adolphe, who fails "to find any body in the church to offer his silent gratitude to," believes in the service of man and drops a gold coin in the poor-box.

Very great is the value in this connection of the play of *There are Crimes and Crimes* (1899) with its "controlling idea of the acceptance of moderation in life verging on asceticism and of resignation to divine dispensation" indicating the passing away of that severe intellectual discord and spiritual crisis at the end of which his troubled spirit became soothed by a redeeming vision of life's deep meaning and noble purpose.

Composed at the end of the very critical period of his spiritual trial when the author had just emerged out of his soul's tragedy, this play marks a very important and interesting stage of transition in his inner development.

It harks back to the plays of his naturalistic period with its numerous points of contact with them containing as it does his Tolstoian revolt against Western materialism and its so-called economic advantages, a lurid picture of harsh and senseless police regulations rigidly enforced against the poor, his condemnation of irrational social inequality between a workman like Emile—a man without a flaw in him and always perfectly straight—and the pampered authors and artists like Maurice and the actresses, and lastly a host of references to the play of the subconscious, to thought reading, talking to the dead, premonitions, to people on the border line of insanity, not to speak of the old sex-problem.

The new note in it is its pervasive religious tendency showing clearly how underneath the visible surface of the

world of sense the author began to be aware of the underlying deep mystery of the regenerating power of forgiveness for wrongs, pity to the erring, large-hearted tolerance and charity. His agnostic attitude too here yields place to a growing faith in a saving grace and he realises how the soul of man passes out of the chaos of spiritual doubts into an abiding trust in God's mercy. This emergence into certainty of salvation distinctly marks a definite stage in his spiritual growth.

The theme and title of the play are explained by Adolphe's observation (Act III, sec. 2) "There are crimes not mentioned in the Criminal Code and these are the worse ones, for they have to be punished by ourselves"—such as "evil thoughts, evil dreams, secret intentions," "imaginings regarded as signs of some mental disease" and not merely outward acts and their motives. At the close of the play (Act V, sec. 2) the "Abbé" adds, "we have to stand responsible for our thoughts and words and desires also." In his fit of confessional self-censure Maurice declares (Act I, sec. 2) that "here we are making ourselves out as white as angels, and yet we are, taking all in all, capable of any kind of polite atrocity the moment glory, gold or women are concerned." We see how he is punished for secret deeds—he who robbed his friends and companions "of their faith in him" and "wished the life out" of his own child Marion to gain freedom for self-indulgence as an artist.

Men are tried for these deeper offences in a higher court over which God presides, for they imply a rebellion of the spirit against providential divine presence in and around every man and woman.

This suggests a great advance made by the author upon his position in the earlier plays where his whole thought was devoted to the problem of human justice or injustice. He has thoroughly outlived the stage of cynicism bred by a rankling sense of injustice "although there is a sort of solace to my mind," he may say with the "Master" in *The Thunderstorm* (sc. 11), "in finding justice exists in this world." "The

Neighbour" in the *Advent* is convinced that there is justice both human and divine and in *the Dance of Death* (Part II) Alice's sarcastic taunts for believing in "justice and honour and all that sort of thing" are met by Curt's determined and deliberate remark "yes, and it is what experience has taught me. Once I believed the very opposite—and paid dearly for it." The words of Jeanne may, perhaps, be applied to Strindberg himself as a sort of comment on the salutary change that came over him at the end of his spiritual crisis. Says Jeanne to Maurice (Act I, sc. 1.):—

"My faith—which you haven't destroyed, but just covered up, as when you put chalk on a window to clean it—I could'nt lay hold on it for that reason, but this old man (meaning the Abbé who has just promised to explain to her the mystery of the life beyond death) just passed his hand over the chalk, and the light came through." His hard intellectualism so rampant during the naturalistic period of his dramatic career is the chalk on the window of his mind which became wiped out by 1898 by his new mystic faith.

The Abbé, a prominent character in this play, has "nothing to do with human justice but a great deal with divine mercy." Similarly in the play of *Swanwhite* the power of mercy is strongly recognised by the wicked "Stepmother" who is saved from an ignoble fate by the sweet intercession of the injured innocent girl who will not suffer her stepmother to be punished but praying for forgiveness says "though she was my executioner, have mercy on her"—"let her part in peace!" On this the "Stepmother" at once exclaims—"Mercy! who spoke the sacred word?" Here, indeed, we feel that mercy drops as gentle rain from heaven

"And earthly power doth then show likest God's
When mercy seasons justice."

The "Abbé," who is quite free from theological dogma, beholds in the suspicions against Maurice regarding his little daughter Marion's sudden and mysterious death a situation

"which is not the work of man" and he sincerely prays for Gods' mercy on Maurice whom even his friend Adolphe takes for lost. Solemn and sacred is the resignation of the bereaved mother Jeanne, now practically deserted by Maurice to whom she has been betrothed, who can say even in the moment of fresh grief when questioned as to who has brought about the calamity of Marion's death—"He who holds life and death in his hand." She has not "a hard word to say about Maurice" who ultimately understands everything and is reclaimed by her forgiving resignation from the toils of the superior charms of Henriette from whom Maurice has in vain been warned repeatedly by Madame Catherine to keep away. Yet no harsh judgment is pronounced in the play on Henriette nor an uncharitable view taken of her character. Jeanne, the injured woman, absolves Henriette of any responsibility for what happened to herself. The "Abbé" will not allow Jeanne to accuse herself unjustly in her penitence for he avers he knows the serious spirit in which she, though nothing more than a mistress of Maurice, regarded her motherhood. This good woman's faith is sorely tried and even temporarily overclouded by Maurice's conduct yet it is never destroyed and she feels that God "will carry us through the terrors that lie ahead." Firm in her belief in its unfailing efficacy, she proposed once to ensure Maurice's success as a playwright by her intense prayers. With re-inforced faith she exclaimed "O cross! our only hope!" inspired by the legend on the stone crosses in the mortuary chapels forming the suggestive background of the opening scene of the play.

In this connection we bear in mind how in 1893 while Strindberg was one day walking in the solitary Montparnesse cemetery his agitated mind became soothed by tender thoughts of peace wafted as a divine message to his bewildered soul from the inscription "O crux ave spes unica" on the graves that the cross was the only path to wisdom. This symbol is dramatically used in *Swanwhite* and the malicious stepmother

of the innocent girl, the second Duchess, is silenced by her father, the Duke, by raising the cross-shaped handle of his sword and the Priest carries a large crucifix with the Prince's bier. We know also that on his deathbed Strindberg's last wish was that the crucifix he ordinarily used should be placed on his breast.

The misguided and erring Maurice finally resolves to take "the first step along the hard road of penitence" convinced that "honour is a phantom, gold nothing but dry leaves; women, mere intoxicants." He who has been living in the flesh wants now to live in the spirit and "looks for a new existence in some better world" in which he at last begins to believe. His decision after some struggle and wavering to come to church in preference to the theatre where his artist friends and comrades had arranged a demonstration in recognition of his indisputable talent as an author gives great satisfaction to the "Abbé", who is liberal enough to recognise that the sinner has indeed "suffered his punishment as intensely as if it had lasted an eternity" and who therefore wisely spares him a scolding sermon at the church.

In spite of all external appearances to the contrary, the author shows how he feels deep beneath them the mystery of the renovating influence of the Gospel teaching of forgiveness to sinners and of love to the erring. In the play of *Swanwhite* the "Gardener" significantly says—"Forgiveness for those who sin; for those who sorrow, consolation; and hope for those who are distressed." There is, however, nothing obtrusively didactic in the author's artistic presentation of the fatal consequences to the soul of man of offences against the spirit and we have in *There are Crimes and Crimes* a new artistic creation of modern times—a new type of tragedy on a new theme.

(To be continued)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

REPORT

ON THE

STUDENT WELFARE SCHEME

Health Examination Section.

The physical welfare of the student community is a matter for earnest consideration by the University authorities and sometime ago a Committee called "The Student Welfare Committee" was appointed by the Syndicate to devise measures for the betterment of the health of University students. Under the auspices of the Committee a scheme for health examination of the student was started and actual work was commenced from 28th March, 1920. Since then the work has been going on with occasional interruptions due to strike and non-co-operation movement and more than 3,800 students have been examined up to date. The work was at first undertaken by a band of honorary workers chiefly University lecturers and medical men who at considerable sacrifice devoted their time and energy for the period of three months and a half. The Syndicate on 23rd July, 1920, recommended a remuneration as conveyance allowance of Rs. 50 per month to each worker. The expenses for the office staff in connection with the scheme were borne personally by Sir Nilratan Sircar, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University. Since July, 1921, the Syndicate further sanctioned the office staff which is

working at present. The present staff of workers and office assistants consists as follows :—

Honorary Secretaries.

Dr. G. Bose, D.Sc., M.B.

Dr. A. Chatterji, M.B., B.S.

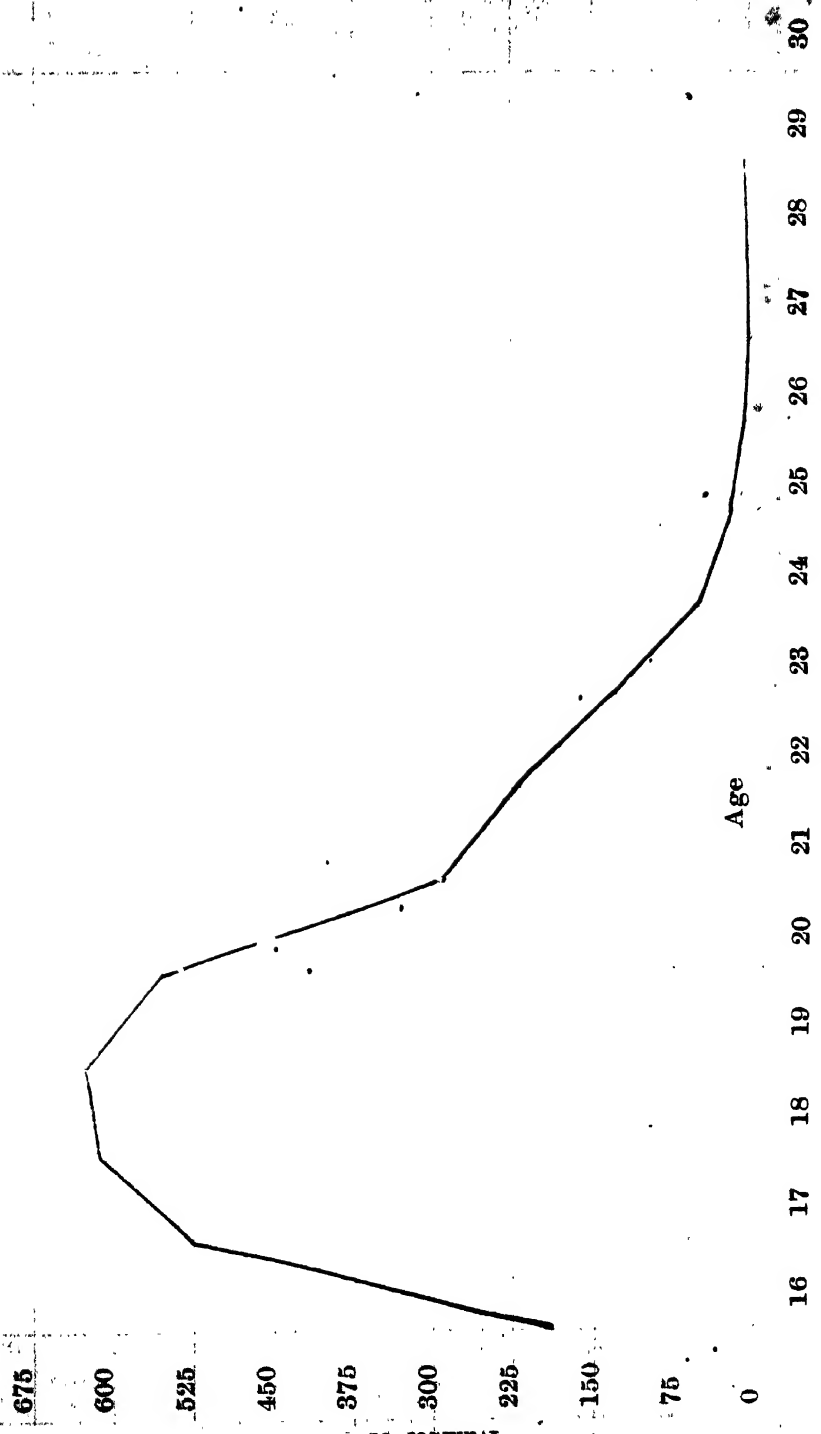
<i>Supervisors.</i>	<i>Remuneration.</i>
	Rs.
Mr. M. Banerjee, M.Sc.	... 50 per month.
„ H. Maiti, M.A.	... 50 „
<i>Examiners—</i>	
Dr. H. N. Bose, L.M.S.	... 50 „
„ A. C. Mitra, L.M.S.	... 50 „
„ D. P. Banerji, M.B.	... 50 „
„ B. N. Bose, M.B.	... 50 „
„ B. B. Chakravarti, M.B.	... 50 „
„ H. N. Bose, H.A.	... 50 „
Mr. M. Ganguly, M.Sc.	... 50 „
„ K. Mukherji, M.A.	... 50 „
„ P. Banerji, B.A. (Tabulator)	50 „
„ M. Sen (Asst. Tabulator)	30 „
	Rs. 580
<i>Office Staff—</i>	
Mr. Kalidas Banerjee, M.A.	... 50 „
(Assistant).	
„ Madanmohan Sen do.	... 50 „
„ P. Chowdry do.	... 50 „
„ Janakinath Mukherji do.	... 50 „
Thakur Prosad (Durwan)	16 „
	Rs. 216
Contingency	... „ 150
Contingency for the Rowing Club Section	... „ 25
Amrita—(Keeper)	... „ 18
TOTAL	... „ 989

The above statement includes the grant for the Rowing Club Section also. Mr. H. P. Maiti acts as the Honorary Supervisor of this section and Dr. A. Chatterji as the Honorary Secretary. The office section of the health examination scheme and the preparation of the statistical data are under the charge of Mr. M. N. Banerji.

It has been found extremely difficult to grapple with the voluminous mass of material, that has been available in connection with the medical examination. Each student is thoroughly examined, the number of items recorded in each case is 33. It has been found impossible to carry on certain works of a highly technical nature with the present staff, as they are already overworked in dealing with the general data. It is desirable that 3 more clerks be sanctioned to carry on the special and technical portion of the work which is expected to be of very great scientific value from the sociological and anthropological standpoints. A further grant of Rs. 2,000 is necessary for apparatus and forms. There is at present no provision for propaganda work which is absolutely essential for the success of the scheme. The University is now passing through a financial crisis and it may be difficult to obtain the necessary extra grant from the Syndicate. To supplement the University grant a fund has been started to collect subscriptions from public bodies and individuals. In this connection we beg to record our sincere thanks to Messrs. Butto Kristo Paul & Co., for having contributed the sum of Rs. 511 towards this fund. Several other promises have been received but the money has not yet been realised. In connection with the scheme arrangements have been made to supply spectacles to students at cost price and we have again to thank Messrs. Butto Kristo Paul & Co., for rendering us help in this direction. It is desirable that a dental clinic be started for the benefit of students at an early date. One of the Honorary Secretaries, Dr. Anathnath Ghattarjee, looks into the general defects of students and gives

No. 1

Age Distribution



them the necessary advice whenever required. Students suffering from any deficiency or disease have been informed of their defects through the Principals of their respective colleges. Altogether 2,229 defect cards have been issued.

The nature of the work that we have been doing has already been reported to the Syndicate sometime ago. We have conducted the health examination of the students at the Scottish Churches College, the University Post-Graduate Classes, the City College and the Presidency College. The examination is now being conducted at the Vidyasagar College. The number of students examined up to 31st December, 1921, and the period of examination in each college are as follows :—

College.	Period of Examination	Number of Students
The Scottish Churches College	28-3-20—16-8-20	913
The University Post-Graduate Classes	19-8-20—27-9-20	140
The City College	28-9-20—20-8-21	1,710
The Presidency College	5-9-21—8-11-21	692
The Vidyasagar College	26-11-21—	349
TOTAL ...		3,804

The non-co-operation movement has been the chief disturbing factor in the smooth working of the scheme and we are sure that the number of students examined would have been almost doubled, but for this unfortunate movement. The tabulated results appended herewith cover data from 3,455 students. The Vidyasagar College students who are still under examination have not been included in this group. It has been found that under favourable circumstances the number of students examined per day could easily be 50. Sometimes it was as high as 76.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS.

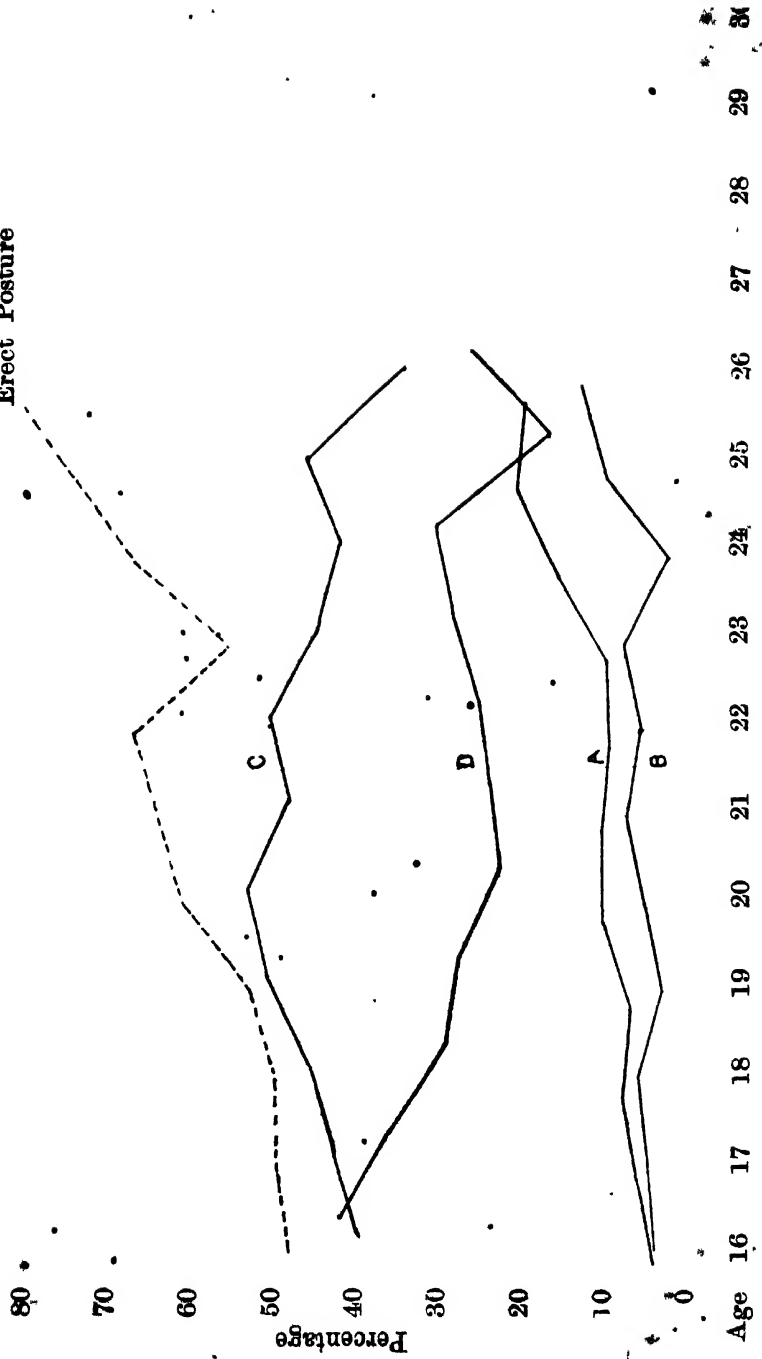
The following table shows the distribution of students examined in the different colleges under separate age groups. From an examination of the Chart No. I it will be found that the maximum number of students belongs to the age group 19.

Age.	Scottish Churches College	University Classes	City College.	Presidency College.
16	52	...	113	51
17	150	...	281	125
18	177	...	299	164
19	220	...	269	163
20	169	4	293	115
21	81	21	169	43
22	42	33	149	17
23	16	30	86	8
24	3	24	31	1
25	2	12	11	2
26	1	7	5	1
27	...	4	2	1
28	...	2	...	...
29	...	...	...	...
30	...	1	2	...
31	...	1	...	...
32	...	1	...	...
37	...	...	...	1
TOTAL ...	913	140	1,710	692

Of 3,455 students, 1,034 are Brahmins, 985 are Kayasthas, 292 are Vaidyas, 29 are Kshatriyas, 98 Vaisyas, 17 Gandhabaniks, 45 Subarnabaniks, Mahisyas 78, Vaisya Saha 54, Brahmos 49, Buddhists 7, Christians 32, Mahomedans 283, Arya-Samajist 1, Jains 2 and other castes 276 and 173 have not reported their caste.

General Appearance

Erect Posture



this means that the students at the age of 20 show the greatest muscular development—the least amount of thinness and the greatest amount of conformity with the normal standard.

POSTURE.

About 41% of the students show a stooping posture. The posture curve (see Chart No. 2) shows a curious feature namely that the stoop is more marked the younger the student.

College.	Erect	Stooping
Scottish Churches College	69.2%	29.8%
University Classes	78.6%	19.3%
City College	54.4%	45.6%
Presidency College	52.4%	47.6%
	----	----
General percentage	58.6%	41.4%

COMPLEXION.

The skin complexion of the students has been classified under 4 headings, A very fair, B fair, C brown, D black. The Ethiopian blackness has not yet been met with amongst the students. About one per cent. are very fair, 23 fair, 68 brown and 7 black.

	Very Fair	Fair	Brown	Black
Scottish Churches College	1.9%	27.5%	62%	7.3%
University Classes	0.7%	25%	62%	10%
City College	0.7%	22.5%	70%	7%
Presidency College	1.1%	17.6%	76.3%	4.9%
	----	----	----	----
General percentage	1.1%	22.9%	68.5%	6.9%

Height and Weight

175

170

Height in Centimetres

165

160

155

Height

Weight

Age

150

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

No. 3

Weight in Kilos

52

51

50

49

48

47

46

We give below a distribution of skin colour according to caste:—

Caste	Number of Students.	Percentage Table			
		A	B	C	D
Radiya Brahmins	508	1.77	31.10	63.74	2.95
Barendra Brahmins	80	1.25	41.25	57.5	0
Bhattacharyya (mixed)	93	1.08	31.18	62.36	4.3
Chakravarti (mixed)	129	0	2.32	70.54	6.2
Other Brahmins	207	1.44	25.12	66.66	5.79
Radiya Kayastha	450	1.53	23.33	67.33	6.88
'Atgarh' Kayastha	225	0.44	18.22	70.22	9.77
Other Kayasthas	310	0.96	18.7	73.54	6.12
Baidya	292	1.71	22.60	70.2	5.47
Khatriya	29	0	41.37	48.27	6.89
Vaiyas	98	0	28.57	66.32	5.10
Gandhabanik	17	0	5.88	82.55	11.76
Mahisya	78	0	12.82	70.51	16.66
Subarnabanik	45	2.22	20	71.11	6.66
Vaiya Saha	54	0	22.2	70.37	7.4
Christians	32	6.25	25	68.75	0
Mahomedans	283	1.06	13.07	72.79	11.6
Other castes	275	0.36	16.72	71.45	9.45

An examination of this table shows the greatest percentage of A class complexion amongst the Subarnabanik and the Brahmin classes belonging to Hindu community. Next comes the Vaidya and then the Kayastha. If we exclude the Subarnabaniks where the number of students examined is small we find a distinct preponderance of A Class amongst the "higher" classes of the Hindu society.

HEIGHT, WEIGHT AND PONDERAL INDEX.

College	Height c.m.	Weight kilo.	Ponderal Index.
Scottish Churches College ...	165.9	52.2	2.25
University Classes ...	166.4	53.5	2.27
City College ...	162.2	50.0	2.23
Presidency College ...	165.5	52.4	2.54
General average ...	163.5	51.2	2.24

The City College students show the lowest figures both in height and in weight. As compared with our preliminary report the general averages for height and weight are lower. This is due to the very large number of the City College students affecting the findings. The comparative poorness of the physique of the City College students is clearly evident from the low ponderal index. The age distribution is given in Chart No. 3.

We find that the maximum development both in height and weight takes place about the age of 20 and 21. As mentioned in our preliminary report the influence of age on height is less marked than on weight. It seems that the maximum rate of growth takes place between the ages 16 and 19.

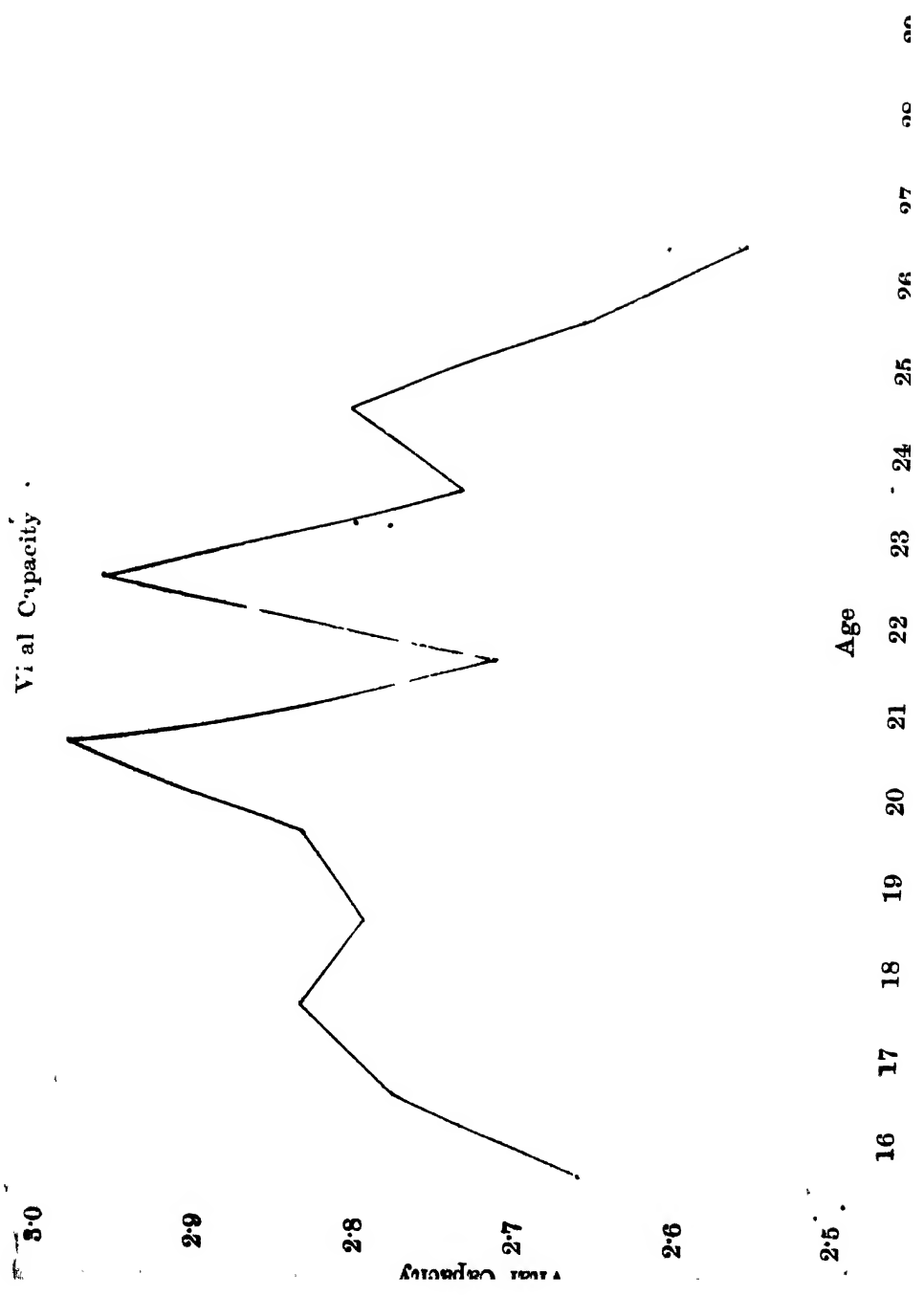
CHEST.

College.	Inspiration c.m.	Expiration c.m.	Expansion c.m.
Scottish Churches College ...	83·7	79·0	4·7
University Classes ...	85·6	81·6	4·0
City College ...	81·3	77·2	4·4
Presidency College ...	82·73	78·3	4·1
General average ...	82·6	78·1	4·5

Here also the averages are distinctly lower than those mentioned in our preliminary report and this diminution is traceable to the influence of the City College students.

VITAL CAPACITY.

This measurement could not be taken in the case of the Scottish Churches College students and the University Classes for want of necessary apparatus. The City College figure is 2·71 and the Presidency College figure is 2·88 lit. Here also the superiority of the Presidency College students is marked. The age distribution (Chart No. 4) shows that the maximum record is attained at the age of 21. A comparison with the corresponding curve (Chart No. 5) for chest measurement will



bring out the fact that although the chest girth continues growing beyond the age of 21 the maximum efficiency seems to be attained at 21.

HEAD CIRCUMFERENCE AND CEPHALIC INDEX.

College	Circumference c m	Cephalic Index.
Scottish Churches College	.. 53·8	79·9
University Classes	... 53·9	80·3
City College	... 53·1	79·7
Presidency College	... 53·6	78·4
General average	... 53·4	79·6

The Presidency College shows the lowest figure for cephalic index. It will be however quite premature to ascribe any significance to it without a full statistical enquiry. The distribution according to age (Chart No. 6) is too irregular to warrant any conclusion.

GRIP.

A comparative statement of figures for the different colleges both for right and left hands is given below. The Presidency College students were not examined.

College	Right Kilo	Left
Scottish Churches College	38·9	35·6
University Classes	.. 37·6	35·8
City College	... 35·8	34·3
General average	.. 37·8	35·3

AUDITION.

College	Right c m	Left c.m.
Scottish Churches College	... 70·9	75·3
University Classes	... 59·2	61·2
City College	... 41·0	41·0
Presidency College	... 67·7	72·9
General average	... 54·7	57·8

Here we must mention that the work in the City College was carried out under disturbing conditions so that the findings for this college are not very reliable and the general average seems to have been prejudicially affected. The standard 18" B type Omega Watch was used for the test. If we exclude the City College results we find an indication of a gradual diminution in auditory acuity with age. The left ear seems to be more sensitive than the right.

VISION.

About 64% of the students have got normal vision and the remaining 36 are defective. Only 13% of these defectives have been found to use proper glasses. A very large number of students although requiring glasses do not use them at all, while there are others in whom the glasses worn only imperfectly correct the defect. A tabular list is appended below :

Defects of refraction—Percentage table.

College	Defective (B C & D).	Fully corrected
Scottish Churches College	... 38·7	14·1
University Classes	... 51·7	21·7
City College	... 29·3	8·6
Presidency College	... 47·3	16·3
General average	... 36·2	12·84

The University and Presidency students show a very large percentage of refractive error. The age distribution curve has brought out a very significant fact, *viz.*, the vision shows progressive deterioration from the age 16 up. We might here point out that the same thing has been observed in the case of audition. There seems to be also a correlation between the teeth and vision and the percentage for these two findings in the different age groups coincide in a remarkable manner (see Chart No. 7).

No. 5

Chest Inspiration

84

83

82

81

80

79

Age 16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

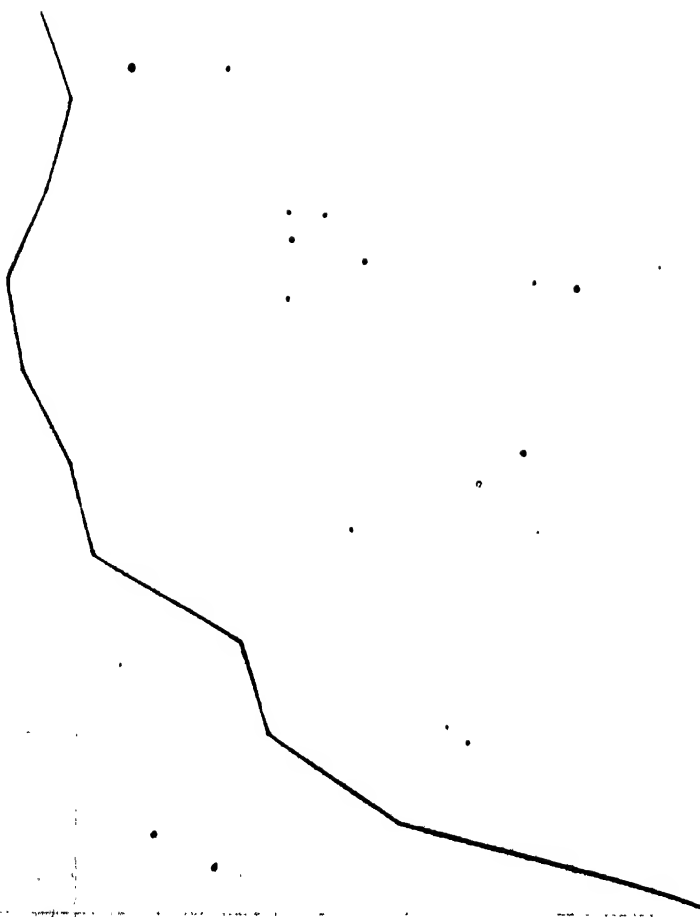
25

26

27

28

29



TEETH.

About one-third of the students shows defective teeth. In the case of eye defects there is some effort at correction but unfortunately the teeth defects absolutely go uncared for.

College.	PERCENTAGE FIGURES.		
	Normal	Caries.	Pyorrhœa.
Scottish Churches College .	58·6	2·4	9·5
University Classes . . .	60·7	4·3	8·6
City College . . .	70·6	2·3	2·5
Presidency College . . .	60·2	10·8	1·8
General average . . .	66	4·2	4·7

The Presidency College students who have a fair all-round development exhibit a high percentage of carious teeth. It seems as if high living and caries are correlated. The City College shows the lowest caries figure. The age distribution is shown in Chart No. 7.

GENERAL DEFECTS.

Under this heading have been included defects of heart, pulse, tonsils, lungs, throat, spleen, uvula, eye troubles, pharyngitis, nasal troubles, liver, etc. Defects of refraction and those of the teeth and gums have been separately treated. Out of a total of 3,455 students 899 have been found to have been suffering from some form or other of general defect. This gives us a percentage of about 26%. The distribution of general defects in the different colleges is given below in tabular form.

College	Number of students	General Defectives	Percentage.
Scottish Churches College	913	145	16%
University Classes . . .	140	50	36%
City College . . .	1,710	353	21%
Presidency College . . .	692	351	49%
	3,455	899	

It will be noticed that the Presidency College students show an abnormally high percentage of general defects. The defects however are mainly of a minor nature. Here also this may be traced to the effects of high living. The number of foul tongues is very high in the Presidency College. The percentage of heart troubles for all the students taken together is about 5·4. In the Scottish Churches College the percentage in round number is about 8%, in the University Centre it is about 10%, in the City College it is about 5% and in the Presidency College it is about 3%. Below is given in tabular form the percentages of the more important general defects for the different colleges.

Percentage table of general defects.

College	Heart	Lung	Liver	Spleen.	Total	Hydrocele	Orchitis.	Hernia.
Scottish Churches College	8·1	0·6	0·7	1·6	2·8	0·9	0·3	0·1
University Centre	10·1	0·7	2·8	2·1	5·0	2·8	5·0	0·7
City College	4·8	0·5	0·6	2·9	4·5	1·0	1·3	0·3
Presidency College	3·3	0·1	0·1	1·5	14·5	0·5	0·4	0·1
Total number of students	5·4	0·4	0·6	2·3	5·8	0·9	0·9	0·2

The percentage for defectives from all causes is given below :—

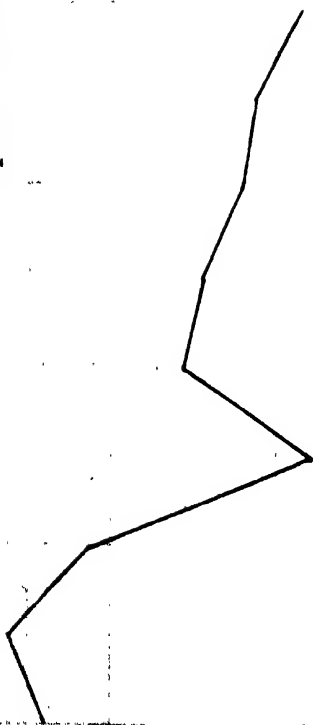
Total Defectives.

Scottish Churches College	...	...	64%
University Classes	...	...	77%
City College	...	...	64%
Presidency College	...	...	91%
General per cent.			66%

We thus find that about two out of every three students require attention.

No. 6

Cephalic Index



29

28

27

26

25

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23

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21

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19

18

17

16

Age

FECUNDITY INDEX.

Fecundity Index is the ratio of the number of children actually born to a mother at a particular age to the maximum number possible. We have taken 30 years—15 to 45—to be the child-bearing period and the maximum number of children that could be born within this period has been taken to be 20. On this basis the formula for fecundity index may be given as follows :—

$$F.I. = \frac{\text{Number of children born to a mother at a particular age}}{(\text{Mother's Age} - 15) \times \frac{1}{2}}$$

The calculation for the different colleges have been done on the basis of the above formula and the result is given below in tabular form.

College.	No. of Mothers.	Fecundity Index.
Scottish Churches College ..	771	·460
University Classes ..	130	·445
City College ..	1,485	·456
Presidency College ..	636	·504

We find that the Presidency College gives the highest figure. This is contrary to expectation and one would expect a greater fecundity in poorer mothers according to the usually accepted opinion.

SOME INTERESTING POINTS.

A careful examination of the tables appended above will reveal many interesting features. As was to be expected the results now obtained differ slightly from those submitted in our previous report. This is due to the extra number of students that have been examined as a result of which the averages have been affected. We have submitted besides general results detailed data for each college, thus providing facilities for comparison. It will be observed that the Presidency College students on an average show a greater

neight and weight than the students of the City College. This is also true of the Scottish Churches College. The difference between the Scottish Churches College and the Presidency College is too slight to enable us to make any definite statement. That the students of the City College are comparatively ill-nourished may be stated without hesitation. This is quite in accordance with the expectations as the City College students generally come from poor families which livei under financial strain. It would be expected that the Presidency College students would show the best physique, but curiously enough it has been found that minor complaints, such as furred tongue, digestive troubles, carious teeth and eye befects, are far more common amongst the Presidency College students than amongst students from other Colleges. The heart and lung troubles are however very rare in the case of the Presidency College students.

It was asserted in our previous report that the hearing capacity progressively diminished from the age of 16 up, This however is not very well borne out by later findings. It is however pointed out by one of the workers that in the City College the auditory examination could not be conducted properly owing to extraneous disturbances and therefore the City College result is not very trustworthy. If we exclude the City College from our consideration we find that the progressive diminution in auditory acuity can still be traced in the combined result. The problem however remains indefinite even now. We should also mention that vision also shows a similar progressive deterioration.

From a careful examination of the different tables it is possible to determine the optimum physical development period of a student and we have no hesitation in fixing this at he age of 21.

ROWING CLUB SECTION.

The total number of boats in the Manicktolla and the Ultapanga sections is eleven, of which nine have been allotted



at present. The total number of members as per Attendance Registers is 85. The average attendance of the members per day has decreased since October last. In September it was 52 and in December it has been reduced to 37. This decrease is due partly to the non-co-operation movement and partly to the onset of winter. The daily attendance is expected to rise from January. The average number of boats daily going out in December was 6.

Within the last six months we lent our boats for pleasure trips to members of the Boy Scout party, and of the Y. M. C. A. at the request of the Boy Scout Commandant, Northern Division, and the Y. M. C. A. Superintendent, Machua Bazar Branch, respectively. The members of our club also enjoyed pleasure trips from time to time.

An inter-club league match was organised and though it was attended with difficulties, this being the first year, it created a good deal of interest among the members. A trophy fund should be started without delay and attempts are being made to create a nucleus for this fund by contributions from members of the club as well as from the interested public. Such a fund should be enough to place the organisation of matches, inter-club, inter-college or inter-university, throughout the year on a permanent basis.

At present we are feeling great inconvenience for want of a fixed location of the club.

SENATE HOUSE;
7th January, 1922.

G. ROSE, D.Sc., M.B.
A. CHATTERJI, M.B., B.S.
MANMATHANATH BANERJI, M.Sc.
HARIPADA MAITI, M.A.

UNIVERSITY FINANCE

The vastness and the complexity of the modern social, political and industrial world, coupled with the spirit of inquiry and research and the demand for trained leadership have resulted of late years in an increasing cry for higher education. This has brought about the expansion of Universities in response to new forces and has caused the differentiation in the materials of instruction "*ad infinitum*" and the multiplication of new courses. Universities everywhere as a result of these forces, have grown so rapidly that they are now approaching the breaking point. Scientific knowledge has expanded. There is an irresistible public clamour for training in new and complicated professional specialities. The obligation of the University to foster research as well as to teach and not merely to examine has become recognized. Critics of our Indian Universities are heard to declare that Colleges and Universities are costing too much, and that the educational needs of the community could be met with smaller outlay.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Arthur Balfour addressing the delegates to the second Congress of the Universities of the Empire on July 4th, 1921, spoke as follows: "That while the needs of University education have increased, and show no signs of important diminution, the funds available for keeping our Universities up to the full and ever-increasing standard of modern requirements are harder and harder to obtain. I do not know how it may be in a Dominion beyond the Seas, or in India, but in Great Britain, at all events, nothing can be more certain than that there never was a time when money was more required or could be better spent in improving the capacity of the teaching of our Universities, and there never was a time when money was more difficult to obtain." It will be seen from this pronouncement that Calcutta University is

not the only institution in the world that has a large deficit. The Universities of the United Kingdom, inspite of increasingly generous grants from Parliament and local bodies, large private endowments and benefactions and fees from students, show an estimated deficit of £ 210,435 for the current year. The citizens of the United States, as also of the British colonies, on the other hand, realize what education means, and are spending money on their Universities with a lavishness which would have been regarded as fabulous a few years ago; for in their judgment the future lies with an educated democracy, and in such a democracy alone is there safety. In their view, higher education is the only safeguard of democracy. Without it democracy would be swayed by every passing gust of political passion. The Universities of Canada, Australia and New Zealand draw large financial support from their Governments so much so, that in the last named country the State spends £.23 per annum for each University student as against \$ 384 in the United States.

In the words of Sir J. Alfred Ewing, Vice-Chancellor of Edinburgh University, "it seems as if the future of India would rest on its own Universities more than on any other factor." So it behoves us to investigate the financial resources of our own Universities in comparison with the British, Colonial and Foreign Universities of the world. For finance is the key to the expansion and growth of modern Universities and the development of higher education.

The one characteristic feature common to post-war University finance is that while the income of the Universities remains stationary the expenses have grown tremendously, particularly in the teaching and research type of Universities as opposed to the old examining bodies familiar to India. The programme of higher education requires buildings, equipment and a higher teaching staff. During the last few years the cost of buildings and equipment in colleges and Universities has risen very high. As yet the cost of salaries of

the teaching staff has not risen to the same extent as the cost of living, and unless the people wish to see their higher institutions staffed with men of inferior ability, it will be necessary to pay salaries sufficiently large to attract teachers of merit and ability. Other conditions have added greatly to the cost of University education, particularly the great increase in the number of students enrolled and the fall in the purchasing power of money. From 1890 to 1920, the increase in student attendance was over 200% in India, 300% in Great Britain and 420% in America. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the great additions to the expense of building, laboratory and library equipment, and teachers' salaries, accompanied as they are by an unprecedented student enrolment, will require Government help and also assistance from endowments.

State help to Universities is now universal. Even in England, since 1900, the State has begun to recognize its responsibility towards higher education—as is evidenced by the increasingly large grants given to the “Civic” Universities of late years. In New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa and America nearly all the Universities are maintained by the State, though in America private benefactors have played a large part in the development of higher education. In France and Germany the Universities are almost entirely supported by State funds, and they are regarded there as more or less departments of State. It is for this reason, that the German Universities lost completely their autonomy and were transformed into mere machines for propagating the ideals of the ruling caste. In England, on the other hand, Oxford and Cambridge have maintained their traditional independence of the State for long centuries, and even now *refuse to accept State grants when coupled with loss of autonomy*. The Royal Commission appointed in 1919 to investigate the financial condition of Oxford and Cambridge, have, therefore, recommended that they should receive

a lump sum of £ 110,000 each, without any condition being imposed on them and without ear-marking the grants for specific purposes. In America also, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, etc., have been founded and maintained on munificent private endowments and donations without any State support or interference. In the case of these Universities supported by private endowments, the students' fees from tuition and examination amount to a considerable proportion of the total income. For instance, it has been estimated that Harvard University spends on an average of \$ 500 for each student per annum; out of this, a sum of \$ 250 is paid by the student himself in fees for tuition and examinations. The remaining 50% of the expenses are derived from endowments and benefactions. The same proportion holds good in the case of the other American endowed Universities like Yale, Princeton and Chicago. As regards Oxford and Cambridge the fees from matriculation examinations, degrees and capitation tax form a considerable amount, in addition to the tuition fee charged by the colleges and the University. The average tuition fee charged by a college at Oxford or Cambridge amounts from £35 to £40 a year. Oxford and Cambridge also, therefore, derive more than half their income from students' fees, the balance being supplemented by endowments and benefactions. So much for endowed Universities.

If we now turn our attention to State Universities, we find a very different state of affairs. The State (as in America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada) supports almost the entire cost of the University, a small sum only being realized from students' fees. When the State appropriates money to its departments of Government, it is paying its current expenses. When the State appropriates money to education, it is making a wise investment, which will yield manifold returns. Liberal support of higher education is good public economy and

wise forethought for the future. The people of America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia believe that higher education should be within the reach of every young man and woman capable of profiting by it. With this principle in view, they pay from public funds nearly the whole cost of the higher education of the people. The proportion of the income of State Universities raised through the imposition of students' fees should, therefore, be small. The average proportion of the total income derived from this source—the students' fees—in the case of State Universities in America is 22%, and over 50% in the case of privately endowed Universities like Harvard, Yale and Princeton. State Universities cannot expect to secure funds through private benefactions. This leaves only the States to support their Universities. Re-assessments on property valuations, increased rates of taxation, and new forms of taxation in order to provide adequate support for higher education are some of the means by which the States support their respective Universities.

The following tables illustrate the liberal and generous support that is given to the Universities by the States in America.

Receipts¹ per student from public sources for public Universities, colleges and professional schools in 1917—18.

	\$		\$
Maryland ...	1875	Wisconsin ...	450
Tennessee ...	1495	Iowa ...	381
Connecticut ...	1429	Pennsylvania ...	374
Massachusetts ...	1016	Minnesota ...	334
Illinois ...	480	California ...	312
Michigan ...	248	Washington ...	286
New York ...	135 &	Virginia ...	225
<i>Average for United States</i> \$ 384.			
<i>New Zealand</i> ... £ 23. <i>per student.</i>			

¹ Statistics of the U. S. A. Bureau of Education 1919:—Bulletin No. 87.

Receipts¹ of Universities, Colleges and Professional Schools in U.S.A., from all public sources per capita 1917-18.

States.	Receipts per capita.	States.	Receipts per capita.	REMARKS.
<i>The United States of America</i>	0.48	Minnesota	0.87	It may be noted that the thinly-populated states spend more money per capita than the thickly populated older states
Nevada	2.07	California	0.76	
Arizona	1.68	Wisconsin	0.75	
Montana	1.42	Michigan	0.66	
Iowa	1.31	Connecticut	0.21	
Delaware	1.30	Massachusetts	0.20	
Wyoming	1.29	New York	0.12	

It is estimated that the average State University in America spends about \$ 450 per student per annum. It will be seen from the accompanying table that out of this \$ 450, a sum of \$ 384 is contributed per student per annum from public sources *i. e.* State and Federal grants, as against £23.3 per student in New Zealand. The attendance of students at public Universities in America as compared to the total population of the country in 1917-18 was 0.12%, and this figure compares very favourably with the other countries.

The following table gives the percentage of income of the American Universities derived from various sources, such as State grants, endowments and students' fees in 1917-18.

¹ Statistics of the U.S. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 87, (1919)

*Per cent. of income of public and private Universities, Colleges and professional Schools derived from the various sources, 1917-18.

STATES	PUBLIC				PRIVATE			
	From Productive Funds,	From United States Government, States or City.	From private benefactions	From Student fees and other sources	From Productive Funds	From United States Government, States or City.	From private benefactions	From Student fees and other sources.
<i>United States</i>	39	72.9	0.7	22.5	27.7	3.8	14.3	54.2
Alabama	19.8	60.9	0.8	18.5	1.6		8.2	87.2
California	6.2	65.2	3.3	25.3	43.3		6.4	50.3
Connecticut	1.5	57.3		11.2	37.1		45.2	17.4
Illinois	1.0	81.1	1.2	16.7	37.8		13.0	49.2
Massachusetts	1.5	72.6		25.9	32.1	2.1	12.2	53.3
Michigan	1.1	57.6	3.6	31.7	21.2		27.6	48.2
Minnesota	2.0	69.2		28.8	11.2		20.7	65.1
New York		97.2		2.8	25.2	8.7	8.4	57.7
Pennsylvania	2.8	77.0		20.2	23.9	11.3	7.9	56.9
Washington	5.7	72.3		22.0	22.0		0.5	77.5
Wisconsin	1.3	66.2	0.8	31.7	26.1		11.7	62.2

In Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the Federal and the State Governments support their Universities in an even more liberal manner, though the exact figures are not available.

Some very interesting papers were read and discussed on University Finance in Great Britain, at the Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire held at Oxford in July 1921. In the course of a paper on University Finance, Sir Alfred Ewing, Vice Chancellor of Edinburgh University, spoke as follows :— “ We may, I think, take that figure £65 per head as fairly representing the present cost of providing University Education in the British Isles, when small institutions and those that are highly specialised

* Only a few states have been mentioned in the above table from the Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 87 1919 Statistics of State Universities and State Colleges for the year ending in June 30, 1919

like the London School of Economics or the Imperial College are left out of account. Of that sum about £34 is spent on the salaries and the superannuation of the teaching staff, and £6 on administration. About £ 25 of it is paid by the student himself in fees for teaching and examination, and £20 is provided in the form of parliamentary grants. But the future is uncertain in several important particulars.It seems clear that there will be permanently greater demand for the most expensive kinds of University teaching in the subjects, namely, of pure and applied science. If the purchasing power of the pound does not soon return to something nearer its old standard, there must be a revision, of salaries, especially those of professors”.

The University Grants Committee in Great Britain furnishes us with figures and details of the financial state of British Universities excepting Oxford and Cambridge, which have thus far received no regular grant in-aid from the Government. The outstanding feature in the history of the British Universities since 1900, is the increasing recognition on the part of the Government of its duty to promote advanced education. Save in Scotland, State aid to the Universities was in 1900 practically negligible. In the last pre-war year 1913-14, the annual grants to the Universities and Colleges of the United Kingdom had risen to £ 442,117 or close upon half a million pounds. In 1919-20 they had risen to a million pounds ; while in 1921-22 another half a million pounds were granted by Parliament *to meet the immediate and most urgent needs of the Universities*. We may, however, point out that the Geddes Committee appointed to advise retrenchment in all the departments of the State suggested lowering the sum spent on education. But very rightly, the Prime Minister refused to carry out this part of the recommendation. The allocation of this grant is entrusted to the University grants committee, and the method of its allocation will be discussed later on.

There are broadly speaking five classes of British Universities:—(1) The older English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and Durham or what the “Times” calls the “Rural” Universities. (2) the English “Civic” Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield; (3) the Scottish Universities: Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews; and (4) the Welsh University group of Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff and Swansea and (5) the Group of Irish Universities, consisting of University College, Dublin, Queen’s University, Belfast, Trinity College, Dublin, and Cork and Galway Universities.

The finances of the Universities of England and Wales (excepting Oxford and Cambridge) rest on what we may describe as “*a three-legged stool*”.

- (a) Endowments, Subscriptions and Students’ fees—53% of the whole.
- (b) Grants from the Treasury and various Government Departments—36%.
- (c) Grants from various local educational authorities—11%.

Endowments, grants from Parliament and subscriptions have made it possible to provide University education at a charge very much below its actual cost, and this has enabled a great many students, who in ordinary circumstances could not have obtained scholarships to enter the University and to benefit by its education. In India, on the other hand, State grants are so limited that the University is compelled to maintain itself mostly on students’ fees derived from examinations and tuition.

The following tables show the estimated income of British Universities for 1920-21 and expenditure for 1921-22 under the various heads and are taken from the reports of the University Grants Committee.

ESTIMATED INCOME OF BRITISH UNIVERSITIES 1921-22.

	Tuition	Examination	Total	Treasury	Other	Total	Grants	Endowments	Total	Miscellaneous	Grand Total
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
ENGLISH AND UNIVERSITIES											
Birmingham	39,316	6,700	56,016	38,000	6,570	44,570	14,800	8,934	23,734	1,943	119,264
Bristol*	10,215	1,000	14,215	18,000	14,820	32,820	13,630	5,674	19,304	3,167	69,507
Leeds	44,000	5,600	49,560	36,000	9,000	45,000	22,500	8,500	31,000	11,900	137,500
Liverpool	65,004	3,000	68,004	43,000	1,563	44,563	17,750	26,037	43,787	5,422	161,776
Manchester*	53,700	9,000	62,700	43,000	1,950	47,950	6,650	29,700	36,350	687	147,687
Sheffield	22,840	2,800	25,640	23,000	5,880	28,880	28,800	5,360	34,160	12,521	101,201
			270,075			243,763			188,335		
SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES											
Aberdeen	24,800	6,400	31,200	35,000		35,000	6,600	12,650	19,250	1,264	86,714
Edinburgh	75,000	20,260	95,260	58,000		58,000	10,800	36,600	47,400	3,586	204,246
Glasgow*	64,600	18,400	83,000	51,000		51,000	8,700	28,500	37,200	1,800	173,000
St Andrews (and Dundee)	13,375	3,230	16,605	32,000		32,000	4,500	24,178	28,678	5,775	83,057
			226,165			176,000			132,528		
UNIVERSITY OF WALES											
Aberystwyth	15,516	2,000	17,516	14,000	5,220	19,220		8,094	8,094	30	18,958
Bangor, Cardiff, and Swansea											
			47,908			68,702			20,230		

ESTIMATES OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

FOR

BRITISH UNIVERSITIES IN 1920-21.

	Equivalent Num- ber of Full-time Students	Estimated Expenditure		Cost of Teachers' Salaries per head	Cost of Administration per head	Income from Fees per head	Parliamentary Grants per head
		£	Per Head	£	£	£	£
English Group (Consisting of Birmingham, Bris- tol, Leeds, Liver- pool, and Manchester)	8,713	727,098	83	43	5	29	24
London Group (University Col- lege and King's College).	3,522	233,135	66	35	6	31	20
Scottish Group (Edinburgh, Glas- gow and Aberdeen).	9,769	476,584	49	28	4	21	15
Welsh Group	2,011	119,170	59	30	6	19	18
Irish Group	2,339	134,125	57	32	6	17	29
Aggregate	26,354	1,690,112	64	34	6	25	20

* Excluding College of Technology.

It will be noticed from the accompanying table, that in the English Universities, the income received from parliamentary grants and that from fees is approximately equal and that the income received from endowments and from grants from local authorities is definitely below that received from parliamentary grants and from fees. It is of interest to note that in the Scottish Universities, fees are the outstanding source of income, being definitely greater than the amount derived from Government grants. Large though the fees have been, they have still further been increased by substantial amounts ranging from one-third to one-half since these foregoing estimates were prepared. The revised fees thus amount from £ 28 to £ 32 per head per annum, making it almost equal to the fees in Oxford or Cambridge and certainly much more than in any Indian University. In Scotland no grants-in-aid are voted by local authorities, and there is thus the consolidation of parliamentary grants of various kinds in the hands of one authority, namely the Treasury. This same movement is in active operation as regards England and Wales.

Wales is poorest as regards both endowment, income and aid from local authorities, and most dependent upon Government grants. The local rate in Wales of "penny in the pound" for University purpose, will henceforth be given to the Welsh Universities, which is expected to be over £50,000. The University Grants Committee seems to have laid down the principle of "A pound for a pound". That is for each pound the Welsh Universities raise in fees and endowments locally, Parliament will pay a similar amount. The University Grants Committee is now entrusted by the Treasury with the distribution of the whole of the parliamentary grants to the Universities. At first there was suspicion and doubt on the part of the Universities in the Committee. The University authorities soon saw that the distribution of the grants had been entrusted to the University men themselves, aware of University sentiment, prepared to respect it, and even concerned to preserve

it. They found that the grants were allocated *en bloc* and practically without conditions. Confidence in its administration of the grants was soon established and the autonomy which the Universities, quite rightly, regarded as their priceless possession was not curtailed by the committee. If a similar University Grants Committee comprising of University administrators should be established in India and entrusted with the distribution of Government grants to the various Indian Universities, then *much of the unequal distribution and preferential treatment that now exists* will be done away with. Besides, "the pound for pound" principle applied to India will benefit the Universities immensely and help the larger teaching and research Universities to the extent to which they are rightfully entitled. Mr. George Adami, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, made the following recommendation as regards the British Universities:—"I would merely suggest that the autonomy of the University would be more secure if in place of the University Grants Committee being empowered to allot grants, whether recurrent or non-recurrent, according to their recognition of the need, there were established a fixed ratio, so that a University could be assured that, granted its income from fees were a fixed sum it could obtain a definite equal grant from the Treasury." The application of this principle of *payment by results* to Indian Universities, that is the greater the number of students that a University can attract, and the larger the income from fees, the greater the call that the institution should be able to make upon the Government and local beneficence, will lead to a just distribution of grants as among the various Indian Universities. Mr. George Adami also recommends that "the Universities ought to obtain at least one penny in the pound from the city in which the University is situated, and at least one-half penny in the pound from the other authorities, town and county of the district served by the University." If this recommendation were given effect to in India, the Corporation of Calcutta will

have to give a considerable amount of money in support of the Calcutta University, in addition to the exemption of the University property from rates and taxes. But the University of Calcutta is in no sense a local or what the "Times" calls a "rural" University. As the largest and the oldest teaching University in India, it is not merely local or provincial, but a national University in every sense of the term. As such, the University should obtain grants not only from the city of Calcutta, and the province of Bengal, but also from the Government of India, as the University serves the needs of the whole nation and is the foremost nationalised teaching and research institution in the country.

The Calcutta University, as we have already shown, is not the only University in the world with a large deficit for the current year. The British Universities inspite of liberal grants from Parliament, local authorities and private endowments and heavy students' fees, show an estimated deficit of £ 210,435 according to Mr. Hetherington of the University Grants Committee. Here, indeed, is a most suggestive set of facts:—

I. Tuition and examination fees of twenty-one English Universities and colleges (excluding Oxford and Cambridge) ...	£ 587,039
II. Treasury and other Parliamentary grants to the same ...	£ 540,637
III. Local authority grants and endowment income ...	£ 350,916
IV. Estimated deficit ...	£ 210,435

And this deficit of £ 210,435, inspite of the greatest care for economy during 1920-21 on the part of the Universities (according to the high authority of Mr. George Adami, Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool) and also heavy tuition and examination fees raised from students, particularly in the Civic and Scottish Universities.

We may sum up this survey of University finance by saying that whether in England, Scotland, America or the Colonies, the State supports the teaching Universities very liberally by Parliamentary grants, local grants and endowments. In the case of State Universities whether in America, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, or in France and Germany, the State meets almost the entire cost (80 per cent) of the Universities, only a small sum being raised from students' fees (22% in U.S.A.) and endowments as may be seen from the tables appended to this article.

In India, on the other hand, the Universities are supported almost entirely from students' fees, while the State only grants a nominal sum for certain specific purposes and at the same time insists on interfering with the autonomy of the University. Unless the State comes to the rescue of the teaching Universities in India, they cannot be maintained, as the experience of British and Foreign Universities amply testifies. The income from endowments and fees, rarely if ever, suffices to meet all financial obligations. Universities, being public service institutions, and not businesses conducted for profit, having nothing laid by for a rainy day.

It is a well known fact that those countries (and those sections of this country) which maintain the best schools and Universities and which spend the most on higher education are the most prosperous and are able to bear the burden of educational expenditure with relative ease. It follows, therefore, that increased outlays for education are more than made good by the increase in wealth that results from them. The same argument applies to scientific research, as may be seen from the experience of France, Germany, England and America. While not all research is materially productive, research in the aggregate has returned in wealth to those communities that have supported it many times its cost. The Universities themselves must interpret their services to the Country and their needs

and to demonstrate how these needs can be met by additional taxation or re-appropriation of revenues.

In the case of the Calcutta University, more than any other Indian University, private benefaction and endowment have played an important part. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that the University of Calcutta has been supported more generously by private endowments than by Government grants. The result then is, that while private benefaction and students' fees (low as they are when compared with other seats of learning) have been substantial enough, the Government grants have been too meagre, coupled with interference with the autonomy of the University even when the State is disposed to grant a small sum only. It is high time that the Government came to the rescue of the one teaching University in India, which has been more or less self-supporting these many years. In a further article we shall deal with the expansion of the teaching departments of the University in relation to the financial resources and the needs of the nation.

A UNIVERSITY MAN

•UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN BENGAL

Many Indians do not quite realise the importance of a teaching university. Ever since the creation of the university in India in 1857 down to 1914, they have been used to a 'affiliating' type of university, which is primarily an examining and regulating body and not a teaching body. In their opinion the primary function of a university lies in the conduct of examinations, and by means of examinations and regulations alone continued efficiency can be adequately secured and the training of men for life can be left to colleges established primarily for the preparation of candidates for an examination.

But the traditional idea of a university in Europe and America is something altogether different. According to the settled views of all progressive societies, "a university ought to be a place of training where a corporation of scholars labour in comradeship for the training of men and the advancement and diffusion of knowledge."¹ In the words of Lord Haldane, "a university is a place of research, where the new and necessary knowledge is to be developed, and it is further a place of training, where the exponents of that knowledge—the men who are to seek authority based on it—are to be nurtured and receive their spiritual baptism."²

Judging from the above standard, the Indian universities down to 1914 were no true universities. They were not corporate bodies of scholars, but only of administrators. They were not concerned with the training of pupils, but only with their examinations; they had nothing to do with their culture except in so far as it could be tested by examinations. The colleges were the only places of learning. But as the real function of these colleges lay in preparing students for an

¹ Vide the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-1919.

² Haldane, *Universities and National Life*, p. 107.

examination, they were virtually so many coaching institutions. As they had the same curricula and had to pay too much attention to examinations, they were of the same pattern. Their teaching was limited to the ordinary conventional subjects, and their teachers within their own subjects were prevented from teaching things which they knew best. Thus the pupils were led not to value culture for its own sake, but mainly as a means for obtaining marketable qualifications. Hence the Calcutta University Commission (1917-1919) recommends that "examination reform is a necessary condition for the reform of education." But the Bengal of to-day is more for retaining the examining side of the university than its teaching side which constitutes the real part of the university.

It is well known that all the Indian universities were formed after the model of the University of London. Since 1884 there had been a growing opinion in London that the university ought to have teaching functions and that it was no true university which did not undertake teaching. In 1898 an Act of Parliament transformed the University of London into a teaching university, while keeping intact its system of examinations for external students. In accordance with the recommendations of 1902, the Indian Universities Act was enacted which provided for the teaching function of the university and the Regulations were framed to carry out in detail the principles laid down in the Act. As the Act did not make any provision for the inclusion of the colleges as constituent colleges of the university, the teaching function of the Indian universities was confined only to post-graduate teaching in arts and science. Though the Indian Universities Act was passed in 1904 and the Regulations were framed some time after, the teaching work on an adequate scale was assumed by the University of Calcutta only in 1914.

There is distinction between a college and a university. It is now generally admitted that college instruction is one

thing and university instruction is another. The chief duty of a college is to train young men between the ages of 18 to 22, who still require the guidance of a professional teacher. Its function is much like that of a secondary school. The only difference in the function between a secondary school and a college is that in the former the youth is placed under strong and despotic control, but the college training implies a relaxation in the outward form of control while still retaining for the tutor a sense of responsibility and a personal interest in young men placed under his charge. In the years of higher study at universities, the relation between the teacher and the taught is accepted on both sides as one of mutual independence—the teachers are only senior colleagues, guiding the independent research of the pupils. In other words, “college instruction requires definite, but not uniform methods, a certain deference to the authority of the master; while university instruction is much freer, and the scholar is encouraged to inquire rather than to accept; to test and observe rather than to hear and recite; to walk with a friendly guide rather than to obey a commander.”¹ Thus a college and a university have to discharge two disparate functions. But in most of the progressive countries of the world, these two disparate functions combine in one organization under the name of university, whose purpose should never be confused. In Bengal, in the University of Calcutta, these two distinct functions have been kept separate, but in the recently created University of Dacca these two functions have been combined in one institution under the name of university.

As an institute for education, the university may either aim at culture for culture's sake such as all older universities of Europe and America profess, or it may organize vocational and technical institutions for application of culture to professional and industrial studies. Even in the latter case it has

¹ Vide the article “Universities” in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition.

to see that a maximum of liberal education is secured by the pupil pursuing professional studies. No college should encourage a course of study which sacrifices the aims of liberal culture on the pretence of preparing for a craft or profession.¹ Some universities lay special stress upon the first phase and others upon the second. Most of the older universities of Europe and America, lay special emphasis upon sound liberal education. Oxford and Cambridge of which the English people are proud still preserve their ancient character intact. They have taken centuries to grow up, they are rooted in splendid traditions which the English people do not like to disturb. In recent years, the University of Oxford has developed, expanded, and modernized. "In 1921 there is hardly a subject of human knowledge, hardly a single language of articulate and inarticulate men on this earth, which has not its own school, professor, and students." In spite of its development, in different directions, its traditional character of being the seat of higher education in religion, philosophy, and the "humanities" in a liberal sense, is still dominant. Frederic Harrison tells us that "as the central pulse of the higher English thought, manners and ideals, it remains still the true nursing ground. And it will so remain till English society is very much more democratized—and until Labour recognises, as education nothing but what will play in material things."² *Though industrial and commercial development is the cry of the time, no Englishman will ever think of disturbing the development which Oxford is undergoing on the side of sound liberal education. This is equally true of Cambridge. We learn from the papers that the Royal Commission recommends a grant of £ 110,000 for each one of these time-honoured Universities.* Will, therefore, any responsible critic of the financial condition of these two great universities be justified in asserting that they have

¹ The School (Home University Library), p. 158.

² *Times*, quoted in the *Indian Daily News*, August 5th, 1921.

expanded beyond their "financial capacity"? Other older universities of Europe and America are also having development and expansion on the side of liberal education. In spite of stringency of funds, they never complain that their work is being overdone. But in Bengal the Hon'ble Minister of Education takes the Calcutta University to task for unduly developing her post-graduate teaching in arts and is even thinking of reducing some of its branches because they have few students. What would have been welcomed by any other civilized country is just the matter for censure here. Such is indeed the fate of this unhappy land! With regard to the question of small number students in particular branches of study, we would request the Hon'ble Minister of Education to bear in mind the following valuable words of Mr. Hartog—the present Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University:—

"The number of students in the department is relatively small, but, gentlemen, I think you would be surprised if you heard how many students, or should I say how few students, people of world-wide reputation in the west often have to fill a small corner within their large class-rooms. *M. Ernest Renan was very pleased to have in his class four students capable of understanding him. Many of the most famous continental schools have been content with that number or less. In some departments success is not to be determined by numbers. Ideas are not measurable by the dimensions of length, mass or time. They are incommensurable with these physical quantities, and I hope that India will take the lesson that if she really wishes to take the rank to which she has a right she must not be niggardly in encouraging her learned and scientific studies or measure success only by the actual number of students who attend the classes.*"¹

Few people in Bengal have a clear idea as to the sum a university requires for advancement of learning. The

¹ An address delivered in the Curzon Hall, Dacca, on December 6th, 1921.

University Grants Committee of England have made it a point not to raise a college to the status even of a minor university unless it has an annual income of £100,000 or 15 lacs of rupees. There are some 20 universities in the United Kingdom, each of which has at least an annual income of £100,000. It must be borne in mind that the resources of Oxford and Cambridge are ample—they must be at least three times as much as those of the minor universities. All the universities of the United Kingdom are as much embarrassed for funds as the University of Calcutta. In spite of financial difficulties the people of England are providing a good deal for higher education, for they would not allow their people to retrograde. Only the other day, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fisher provided eight millions sterling for the university education of the ex-service men. We learn from the Teachers' Encyclopedia that according to the return of 1907-8 "there are 480 Universities and colleges of all ranks in the United States. Of these 89 are public institutions maintained by the states, and 391 are private; 143 are for men only, and 16 for women only, while 321 are common to both sexes." As to their finances, we learn from the same work that "the state Universities are maintained by state endowments and by direct state taxation. The private universities rely entirely on the munificence of private donors and on the students' fees. The older endowed institutions have amassed large capital funds. Harvard has capital investment of close on £ 5,000,000, and annual income of £ 3000,000; while Chicago, among newer Universities, is not far behind. Fees in all the college and universities amounted to £4,000,000; investments produced £2,240,000, and state grants £1,300,000. From private benefactions there was received £ 2,560,000. The income available for all purposes was thus £10,000,000. In addition, a sum of £15,000,000 was received for the endowment funds of various Universities.¹"

¹ The Teachers' Encyclopedia, Vol. VI.

"In Germany it is considered to be a good investment for the State to contribute seventy or eighty per cent. of the cost of the universities.¹" But in Bengal the budget of the current year provides Rs. 31,55,000 for the university education of the whole province which consists of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, Government and non-Government Arts Colleges which number about 33 and Professional Colleges. Out of this sum, the Calcutta University gets Rs. 1,28,000, the Dacca University including the Intermediate Board, Rs. 9,40,000, Government Arts Colleges Rs. 12,62,000, non-Government Arts Colleges, Rs. 1,07,000, and Government Professional Colleges, Rs. 1,18,000. As the fees of the Government Colleges are taken as receipts in the Budget, which come to more than 3 lacs, the actual sum spent from the public revenues must be less by that amount. *It is evident that the Government do not spend for the university education of the whole Presidency even one-half of what a big university of the west expends for its development. The last Census shows that the populations of Bengal and United Kingdom are almost the same - about 45,000,000. But the United Kingdom spends about 30 times more than what the Government of Bengal spend upon its higher education. And it pleased the Hon'ble Minister of Education in Bengal to characterise these grants 'generous'!*

The Hon'ble Minister of Education in a recent budget speech says that there is a provision for about one crore fourteen lacs of rupees on the transferred side of education. Leaving out of account the grant to the Dacca University, the Dacca Intermediate Board and a few other educational institutions within the five miles' radius of Dacca, in his opinion, over a crore of rupees is spent by the Government for educational activities of the province. We respectfully submit that this statement is hardly correct, for on reference to the

¹ Haldane, *Empire and Education*, p. 70.

budget estimate of the coming year we find that the fees realised from the students of the Government colleges and schools have been taken as receipts in the budget. In 1918-19, the Government got Rs 9,80,000 as fee receipts, in 1919-20, Rs. 9,93,000, in 1920-21, Rs. 11,10,000 in 1921-22 (revised estimate), Rs. 9,60,000, and the budget of the year 1922-23 puts Rs. 10,37,000 as probable receipts under the head "fees." Hence the actual sum spent from the public revenues for education in Bengal must be less by that amount. Now, how much does the University of Calcutta get from the public revenues? It is Rs. 1,41,128. The following table will show at a glance the actual allotment of the sum granted by the Government :—

	Per Year
	Rs.
Hardinge Professor	12,000
George V. Professor	12,000
Minto Professor	13,000
Two Readers	4,000
Post-graduate teaching in Arts	15,000
Science College Laboratory	12,000
University Law College	30,000
Inspector's Pay and Travelling	30,000
Mess Grant	13,128
<hr/>	
TOTAL	1,41,128

Leaving out of account the pay of the Inspector of Colleges and his travelling allowance we see that the Government actually spend Rs. 1,11,128 for the post-graduate teaching in arts and science, and for the law college. But as a considerable sum is annually paid to the Government from the University on account of honoraria due to the professors of the Presidency College, the actual sum spent by the Government must be less by that amount. This sum amounted to Rs. 34,200 in 1917-18, to Rs. 34,998-0-7 in 1918-19, and to Rs. 33,460-6-11 in 1919-20. Deducting this sum we see that the Government actually spend

about 78 thousand upon post-graduate teaching in arts and science, and for the law college. And for how many students? *According to the latest return, the post-graduate department in arts teaches about 1,100 students, the post-graduate department in science teaches about 185 and the law college about 1,678 students. Thus a sum of about 78 thousand is spent by the Government for the university teaching of 2,963 students.*

Now how much do the Government grant to the University of Dacca? It is 9 lacs. For how many students? Mr. Hartog—the present Vice-Chancellor tells us that “about 850 students read in the Dacca University in addition to 67 students of the Dacca Training College and 160 students of the Dacca Medical School who study Chemistry and Physics in the University.” *Thus we find that for about 1,000 students of the Dacca University the state provides nine lacs and for about 3 thousand students of the Calcutta University only about 78 thousand. If this is not differential treatment, we do not know what differential treatment is.*

In addition to the magnificent donation of £2,000,000 from Mr. Carnegie and other sources of income, the four Scottish Universities get an annual Government grant of £72,000. The following table shows for 1908-09 how that grant is distributed among the Universities according to the number of students¹:—

	Grants	Number of Students.
	£	
Edinburgh	25,920	3,286
Glasgow	20,800	2,691
Aberdeen	14,400	970
St. Andrews	10,800	585

Everywhere in the world the allotment of the Government grant in respect of the Universities of the same type is made according to the number of students, but in Bengal we

¹ The Teachers' Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, pp. 61-62.

notice quite the reverse. We do not say that the newly created University of Dacca may not require 9 lacs or even more, but what we point out is that an equal amount at least should be granted also to the University of Calcutta. The Government of India did not show any special consideration when the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University was started in 1914. It is true that one-third of the examination fees of the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. examinations (Pass and Honours) was granted for the maintenance of the post-graduate studies. That sum amounted to Rs. 2,28,476 in 1919-20, to Rs. 2,33,070 in 1920-21, and it is supposed that it will come down to Rs. 1,48,000 in the current year. We ask, is this sum sufficient for the maintenance of the post-graduate teaching of the Calcutta University? There is provision of 9 lacs for the maintenance of the Dacca University in the current year 1921-22. But Mr. Hartog considers the amount inadequate, for in an address he says that "*We are greatly increasing the recurring expenditure and we must, in order to be efficient, at least double the amount of recurring expenditure which is proposed in the Budget for 1921-22 and reach the amount proposed by the Calcutta University Commission.*"¹ Allow Mr. Hartog to double the amount of recurring expenditure, to which we have absolutely no objection, for a real teaching university requires much money, but is it not bare justice to provide at least an equal amount for the University of Calcutta?

The Hon'ble Minister of Education brings a serious charge against the University of Calcutta. To quote his own words, "I find that in the year 1918-19 the opening balance of the fee fund was 10 lakhs and odd, and in 1919-20 it was Rs. 1,88,743. But in the year 1920-21 the opening balance was a debit balance of Rs. 2,49,108, out of which no doubt Rs. 2,19,000 was an investment, leaving a nett debit

¹ An address delivered in the Carzon Hall, 6th December, 1921.

balance of Rs. 29,171. In other words, in the year ending June 1920 the Calcutta University spent Rs. 18,843¹ of the previous year's balance plus Rs. 29,171, totalling Rs. 2,37,914, over and above the huge fee receipts of Rs. 11 lakhs or so; that is to say, an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914." This huge sum in the opinion of the Hon'ble Minister has been spent for developing post-graduate studies. With due deference we submit that the statement of the Hon'ble minister is hardly correct. For on reference to the draft budget for 1921-22 we find that in the year 1919-20 the fee fund contributed Rs. 1,66,050, in 1920-21 it contributed Rs. 1,67,341, and in the current year (1921-22) it contributes Rs. 2,65,945, only, for developing post-graduate studies in arts and science, and in the years under notice it contributed nothing towards the law college. Further, in the budget of 1921-22, there is a provision of Rs. 1,06,490 from the fee fund as contribution towards the science college. *Hence there is no basis for the statement that "an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914," has been expended by the University authorities in their laudable enthusiasm for expansion of post-graduate teaching. Further, we see that in 1919-20 the total expenditure of post-graduate teaching in arts and science comes to Rs. 4,78,297 only, hence Rs. 13,37,914 could on no account be expended for post-graduate studies. But the Hon'ble Minister holds the view noted above, on what authority, he knows best.*

The Hon'ble Minister is evidently in difficulty with regard to the expenditure of the huge fee fund. On reference to actual figures we find that the fee fund receives 9 to 10 lacs every year. Under the Regulations of the University referred to above one-third of the examination fees of the Matriculation, Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. (Pass and Honours) is spent every year for advancing post-graduate

¹ The figure Rs. 18,843 is evidently a clerical mistake. The correct figure is Rs. 1,88,743.

studies in arts and science. This sum is more or less 2 lacs. On deducting this sum from the actual receipts of the fee fund we get 7 lacs or so. The Hon'ble Minister is aware that the Calcutta University is the largest examining body in the whole world. In 1918, the University examined nearly 32,000 candidates. A large sum must necessarily be required for that purpose. The conduct of examinations is a hazardous task. It requires great care and caution. Mr. Hartog of the Dacca University fully realises it. He says that he would have made over the responsibility of examinations to the Calcutta University if he could. But he cannot do so under the Act. Now, what is the sum that is annually expended for the maintenance of this vast examination system? On reference to actual figures we find that inclusive of remuneration to examiners about 6 lacs of rupees is spent every year for the maintenance of this vast system. The post-graduate department in arts and science may be abolished but this examination system cannot be abolished for it furnishes to our young men tickets for admission to profession and to calling. Thus it will be seen that the available balance left is considerably small. So there is hardly any room for the University authorities to spend more than a lac and a half from their fee fund every year in maintaining their post-graduate studies. If so, we ask, why are they accused of spending "an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914" in a single year for the same purpose? Is the money that is spent every year for the conduct of examinations to be taken as what is spent for advancing post-graduate teaching as well? We are sorry that the Hon'ble Education Minister of a province should indulge in such vague and misleading statements from memory. Now, why was the Calcutta University compelled to spend Rs. 2,37,914 in a single year ending with June 1920? Because the State did not provide a good sum to the Calcutta University from the very beginning which teaches about 3,000 students? The matter was

constantly brought to its notice, but it did not pay any heed to it. Instead of making due provision for the Calcutta University the Government wanted to exercise undue influence over it, to which the University authorities would not submit. This has been the source of all troubles for the Calcutta University. It has even been noticed in the Calcutta University Commission Report (1917-1919) which runs as follows :

“ The relations between Government and the University are of an unsatisfactory kind, involving far too much detailed Government • intervention which cannot be satisfactorily exercised and undermines the sense of responsibility of the University authorities ; while the peculiar relation between the University of Calcutta and the Imperial and Provincial Government adds an element of complexity and confusion which is not found in the other Indian Universities.” If so, we ask, who is responsible for bringing the University of Calcutta to the verge of bankruptcy ? If anybody is responsible for doing so, it is the Government itself. After the inauguration of the “ Reforms ” the Senate of the Calcutta University thought it advisable to apply to the Government of India to transfer the management of the Calcutta University to the hands of the Provincial Government in the hope that a better state of things would ensue. It remains to be seen what the representatives of our people do for the premier University of India.

The Hon'ble Minister of Education is under the impression that the University of Calcutta would be nowhere but “ for the generous grants of the Government.” For in his opinion all the institutions which benefit from the Government grant “ go to feed it in realising its fees amounting to Rs. 10 to Rs. 11 lakhs.” We are at a loss to understand what he means by the above statement. Does he mean to say that the fee fund of the Calcutta University is enriched by the fees of the students reading in the Government colleges and privately managed aided colleges alone ? If so, he is

evidently in the wrong. We learn from the *Fifth Quinquennial Report of Education in Bengal* that in 1916-17 there were 33 colleges in all. Of them there were 8 Government colleges having 3,662 pupils, one Municipal college having 160 pupils, there were 13 privately managed aided colleges having 5,973 pupils, and 11 privately managed unaided colleges having 8,683 pupils. How much do the Government spend for the privately managed colleges which number 24 and how much for the Government colleges which number 7 or 8? On reference to the actual figures of the current year we find that the Government spend Rs. 12,62,000 for the Government colleges, and Rs. 4,07,000 for the privately managed aided colleges. Thus it is clear even to a casual observer that the fee fund of the Calcutta University is to a large extent benefited by the fees of the students reading in the private colleges. But why is the Hon'ble Minister so very anxious to establish the generosity of the Government in educational matters? We may at once point out to him that the Government may be generous with regard to military expenditure, may be generous with regard to police expenditure, may be generous with regard to the increment of the pay of the Civil and Imperial Services, may be generous with regard to other matters which help their Home interests but is not at all generous in respect of education in which the future progress of India lies. It is simply wanting in its duty towards higher, secondary, as well as elementary education in India.

We have noted above that the post-graduate department in arts teaches about 1,100 students and the post-graduate department in science teaches about 185 students. We have also shown above that the contribution from the fee fund towards post-graduate teaching in arts and science is not much. We admit that the development of applied science in every country requires a good round sum and it will require as much in Bengal too. Though in view of the number of the students taught in the science department at present, the distribution^g as

of money can hardly be called unjust, yet we must say an adequate sum must be provided for the Science College for its proper development. The Trust Funds are hardly enough to meet even one-tenth of the expenditure necessary for the purpose. But it will hardly help the science department if you will transfer Rs. 30,000 from the law college to the science department under the impression that the law college is self-supporting. But before this step can be undertaken it requires to be seen whether it is self-supporting or not in view of the great fall in the number of law students in the course of a year or two.

Almost all the institutions of higher education in other parts of the world enjoy a large measure of autonomy. They manage their own affairs and have absolute control over their finances. They are accountable to none except their own Senate or Court which is the legal body corporate of the university. We have noted above that the Parliamentary grant to the four Scottish Universities is £72,000. The Teachers' Encyclopedia tells us that "*the expenditure of this balance is not accounted for in detail to the Treasury, nor are unexpended balances surrendered at the close of the financial year.*" Under the Universities Act of 1904, all duties and liabilities have been imposed upon the Senate called the "Body Corporate" of the university. There is a Board of Accounts consisting of three Fellows other than members of the Syndicate, whose duty it is to examine and audit the University accounts and the account of the Endowment and Trust funds. Further, the University accounts are examined and audited every year by the Government auditors. Our members of the Legislative Council are not satisfied with that. They are for exercising stricter supervision upon the premier institute of higher education in India. In other words, they will not be satisfied with the exercise of of general control and supervision but propose to interfere with the internal administration of the Calcutta University.

The Hon'ble Minister only the other day declared that "financial matters are matters which are specially in charge of this House, and therefore there must not be any irritation shown by the Calcutta University when this House desires to enquire into them." In other civilized countries, financial matters of a university are subject to the control of the university itself, but here in Bengal we hear that they have every right to control them. Will the members of the Legislative Council be surprised to learn that all eminent educationists hold the contrary view? *Lord Haldane says that "University cannot live and thrive under the domination either of the Government or the Church. Freedom and development are the breath of its nostrils, and it can recognise no authority except that which rests on the right of the Truth to command obedience."*¹ Sir Michael Saddler in his evidence before the Lord Lytton Committee declares that "*It should be aided liberally from public funds and be released as far as possible from governmental control.*" All eminent educationists are for maintaining the autonomy of the institutions imparting higher education, but our Hon'ble Minister of Education is eager to assert his control over the financial matters of the Calcutta University!

But, how much do the Government pay to the Calcutta that they are so very anxious to control its finances? We have seen above that the amount is only Rs. 1,41,118. They may at least demand the account of the money that they pay. But why is such undue eagerness displayed for subjecting to scrutiny the whole finances of the University where only a few lacs of rupees are spent and not those departments where crores of rupees are spent? Are we to understand that they are all being efficiently managed and that there is want of efficiency only in the Calcutta University? Or are we to understand that the Council is simply helpless with regard to them?

¹ Haldane, *Universities and National Life*, p. 105

Whatever may be the reason it is evident that the Council is more particular about the Calcutta University. It may be contended that it is more particular about it because there is a huge fee fund the receipts of which, according to current rumours, are being mismanaged by the University. But as educated men the Councillors must not be guided by vague rumours. Is there anything in the audit reports of the Government to substantiate these rumours? First look at them and then call for the accounts of the University. In every civilized country, the fee fund is in the absolute control of the university and the money accumulated therein is always spent for the development of the University. It is so in Germany, it is so in the United States, and it is also so in the United Kingdom. But in Bengal the fee fund is a public fund and the Hon'ble Minister has every right to control the fund! If the fee fund of the University is a public fund, the fee funds of all the privately managed colleges and schools are not less so.

But do you ever care to know anything about the fee funds of the privately managed colleges and schools? You rightly allow the fee funds of the privately managed colleges and schools to be utilised by their proprietors and you even probably allow the Dacca University to spend the fee fund for its development, but some restrictions must be put only in the case of the Calcutta University. You interfere most where you ought to interfere least.

Every department of the Government is allowed to spend money in urgent matters in anticipation of grants, but it amounts to "criminal thoughtlessness" only in the case of the Calcutta University! In connexion with the construction of the new Nurses' Home, Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, you spend Rs. 1,38,000 though the budget of the current year provides Rs. 32,000; for the acquisition of land required for extension of the servants' quarters, Medical College, you spend Rs. 1,28,000 in anticipation of sanction though the budget of the current year provides nothing for the same work; for

the construction of the main block of the Bengal Secretariat Press at Chetla, you spend Rs. 5,38,000 up to 31st March, 1921, though the sanctioned estimate amounts only to Rs. 1,72,000; for the steel record-racks in the Financial Department, Writers' Buildings, you spend Rs. 29,000 though the budget of the current year provides no sum for the same: you allow Rs. 7,80,000 to be spent for the construction of buildings in connexion with the partition of the District of Midnapore, though the budget of the current year provides only Rs. 5,53,000 for the 'same. *Even you allow Rs. 4,03,000 for works in connexion with the Dacca University Buildings, though the budget of the current year provides only Rs. 2,00,000 for the same.* I need not multiply instances. The matter is common knowledge. But, we repeat, it is "criminal thoughtlessness" only in the case of the Calcutta University to demand more money for promoting post-graduate studies!

The Government can pass a deficit budget of over 30 crores of the Imperial Government and a deficit budget of about 2 crores of the Provincial Government of Bengal. They are even prepared to make up the deficit by exorbitant taxation of the people from the highest to the lowest. The next year's budget of the Calcutta Corporation reveals a serious financial position and being unable to meet the situation even by raising a loan of about Rs. 1,26,15,000, it was even proposed to raise the rates of the already over-taxed rate-payers. But a deficit budget of 5 lacs or so of the Calcutta University which is mainly due to your want of promptitude in providing necessary funds for the purpose is intolerable! You make arrangements in the budget of the coming year for the increment of the pay of the staff of different departments of Government. On the side of education, you make a provision of Rs. 9,92,000 for the revision of the pay of the officers below the Bengal Educational Service, you make a provision of Rs. 86,000 for the revision of the pay of the masters and mistresses and technical staff

of the European schools, and you make a provision of Rs. 32,000 for the revision of the pay of the ministerial establishment of the office of the Director of Public Instruction, to some of which we have absolutely no objection, for they are all poorly paid teachers and officers. Even the expenses of the Legislative Council can rise from Rs. 1,23,000 in 1919-20 to Rs. 3,47,000 in 1921-22 for its efficiency! But the poor pay of the teachers of the Calcutta University does not call forth your sympathy! Your opinion if rightly analysed comes to this: There is efficiency in all the departments of the Government except the University of Calcutta even though in the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission it has brought about considerable improvements by taking charge of the entire post-graduate work! Why is this invidious distinction? Is it because we have got for our Vice-Chancellor one who in your opinion "is one of the ablest men that we have not only in this province, but in the whole of India"? Is there wisdom in proposing to take steps that will surely spell the ruin of a University of 65 years' standing with a record of good work and useful career of which Bengal is naturally proud?

The Education Budget in every civilized country is a matter of special consideration. Anybody hardly takes exception to it even in cases when it increases by leaps and bounds. See what Prof. Findlay of the Manchester University says about it: "*As regards the general expenditure on education, public or private, no limit can be assigned and it is useless to exclaim that the budget of national or local expenditure increases by leaps and bounds.*"¹ This is the policy that is being maintained as regards education budget in every progressive country of the world. But our Hon'ble Minister of Education seems to hold the opposite view especially with regard to the budget of higher education of the Calcutta University. He is evidently for curtailing its "thoughtless" expansion. But our representatives are presumably of the opinion that no limit

¹ The School, p. 131.

should be assigned to the budget of the military, police and other departments of the Government, for they are all efficient, but strict limits should be imposed on the budget of the Calcutta University. If these are "Reforms," we must say, friend, save us from "Reforms."

Germany began her educational reform with the reform of the universities and organized the whole educational machinery from the top to the bottom. The Governments and millionaires of the United States are spending lavishly upon their universities because they believe that by reforming their universities they reform the whole educational machinery of the country. This is also the educational method of the France of to-day. *"Indeed, if it be true that primary education is indispensable to all, if secondary education should be offered to every pupil of the primary school who can receive it with profit, the one and the other would risk stagnation and loss of power if they did not constantly receive new principles of activity and of life from higher education. Primary and secondary education are the results, as it were, of higher education: they furnish it with recruits, and from it they draw their teachers."*¹ Lord Haldane only the other day said *"It followed in a perfect system of education that the University would work downwards to the elementary schools. University graduates should find their way into all the schools, and thus should give a great uplift to education from its very foundations."*² We see that all the eminent educationists of the world maintain that educational reform should begin with the reform of the universities. Teachers must exist before the pupils. Without efficient teachers we can neither improve our primary nor secondary schools. Efficient teachers can only be trained in the universities or in establishments having connection with the universities. The Calcutta University Commission recommends

French Educational Ideals of to-day, p. 319.

² *Times, Educational Supplement*, October 22, 1921

that each of the two Universities of Bengal should have a department of education and each should furnish 100 trained graduate teachers annually and 500 more should be trained annually in training colleges established by Government.

But our educational authorities in Bengal are going in a different direction. They are of opinion that they can improve the educational machinery of Bengal by spending some additional money upon primary or secondary education. In the current year's budget one lac of rupees is provided for the primary education of Bengal. But they could not spend the same for want of an well-defined scheme of education requiring less recurring expenditure. In the coming year's budget they are going to provide Rs. 50,000 for the advancement of primary education. We caution them against any such useless expenditure. We are convinced it will be sheer waste of money. If you really desire to improve the educational machinery of the land, first have the universities thoroughly organised and have efficient teachers. Then proceed to the secondary schools, and next to the primary ones, and your success will be as sure as anything. This is the tested path of Germany and other civilized nations and you can safely adopt it with reference to your own educational policy.

Higher education in applied science is the need of the time. India is unable to maintain her own existence longer without higher education in industries, commerce, and agriculture. A very large sum is necessary for the purpose. It will practically be of no help to the science side of the University if you abolish some branches of the arts side and turn the savings to the science side. If you want to save your own land, then have an adequate provision for your applied science from the public revenues. You cannot neglect your arts side either, in which your special claim to civilisation lies. Your religion, your philosophy, your history, your ancient culture and arts, your economics, your languages and their origin are being studied in

different universities of the world and they are making ample provision for the same. Should you alone neglect them? Should there not be a premier University in India with adequate provision for the advancement of Indian and Islamic culture? To maintain your own progress at a par with that of other advanced societies of the world, it is absolutely necessary that Indians should take up the research of their own culture themselves. Time is not far distant when India will fully realise that men cannot live by bread alone, they need spiritual food as well. Any step which will deprive her of spiritual food will prove suicidal in the long run. We consider it highly disgraceful on the part of Indians if they fail to make adequate provision for culture which can be best studied in India alone. Is not the idea itself abominable if we have to go to foreign lands for a thorough grounding in Indian, Buddhistic, and Islamic studies which are the special inheritance of the East? We say again if you want to save India, compel the Government to make adequate provision for your higher education. Higher education has very strong, if not the strongest, claims upon the public resources of India, and upon the generosity of private benefactors. As millionaires are not coming forward, it is the precise duty of the Government to maintain it. If the Government of the country have really the good of the people at heart, which we have good reasons to doubt, our universities must be adequately equipped. It is the precise duty of a civilised nation to furnish adequate opportunities of training and self-development to a weaker nation under subjection. "*A model nation is not one that rapes and plunders and is ready to hurl itself on weaker nations in order to grow rich through despoiling them. It is a brave and upright nation, claiming for herself no right that she would not be willing to give to others.*"¹

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA

¹ French Educational Ideals of To-day, p. 324.

THE CRITIC

{ With apologies to William Cowper }

I am critic of all I survey,
 My wisdom there's none to dispute,
 From the Zoo to the College Square Tank
 I criticise man, mouse and brute.
 Oh 'Varsity ! fled are the charms,
 That sages had seen in thy face :
 Else why these financial alarms,
 That makes thee a horrible place ?

I am out of the 'Varsity's reach,
 And my methods are all mine alone,
 When I speak forth in plausible words,
 I'm astonished myself. I must own.
 The people my arguments hear,
 And a champion of right in me see,
 But their knowledge of such things, I fear,
 Is quite *nil* :—it is shocking to me.

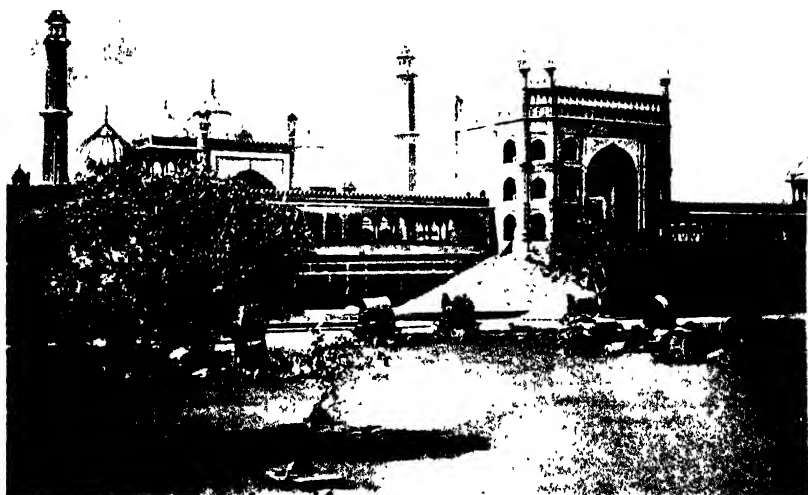
Advancement of Learning and Art,
 Is the 'Varsity's motto, 'tis true ;
 But I have my feelings that hurt,
 And my wishes that red might be blue.
 My feelings I've got to assuage,
 In a way that my purpose would suit ;
 What care I that wisdom and age
 Find their efforts depriv'd of all fruit ?

Ye rumours provide me with sport,
Ye convey just the thing that I need,
Some insinuating report,
Which in time might work havoc indeed :—
A young man is not yet of age,
And still doth a favour receive ;
Or a second exam (I presage)
Might be held with intent to deceive.

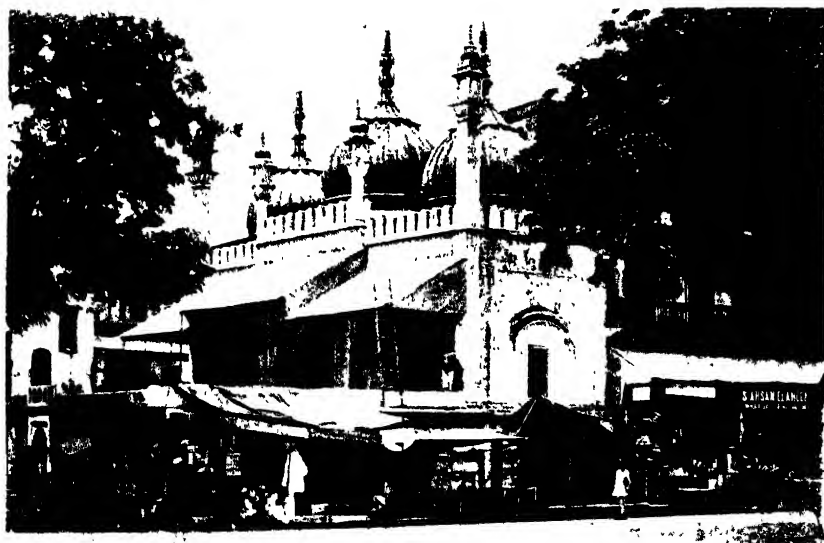
How tortuous works human mind !
Compared with its twists and its turns
The serpent is left far behind,
And Mæander for very shame burns.
When I think of my own little game,
I can see Senate House left quite bare ;
But alas ! the Vice-Chancellor's fame
Soon hurries me back to despair !

For the Councils shall go to their rest,
The journalists' pens shall be still ;
For, " Advancement of Learning and Arts
Shall go on unchecked," is the will
Of every true man. There is yet
In our Ind for this 'Varsity place,
If their present afflictions beget
Strength and wisdom to call down God's grace.

SHADE OF SELKIRK

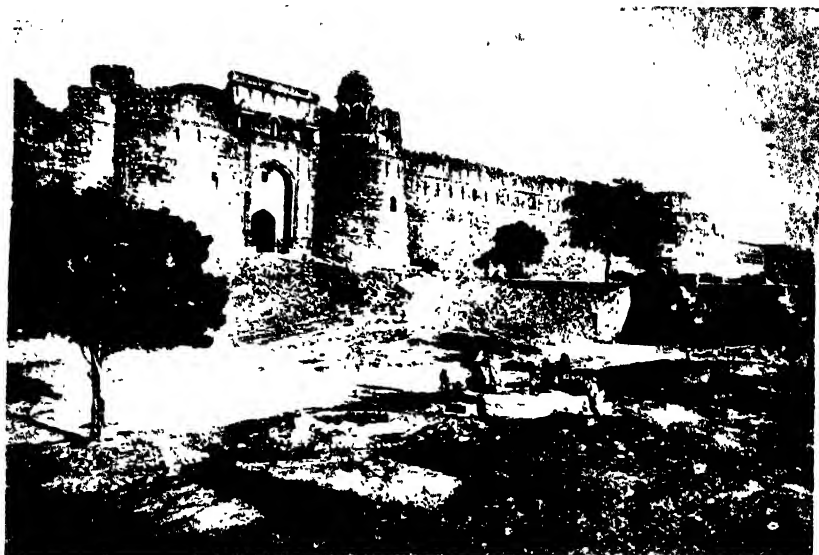
*THE SPLENDOUR THAT WAS DELHI*¹

Jama Masjid



The Golden Mosque

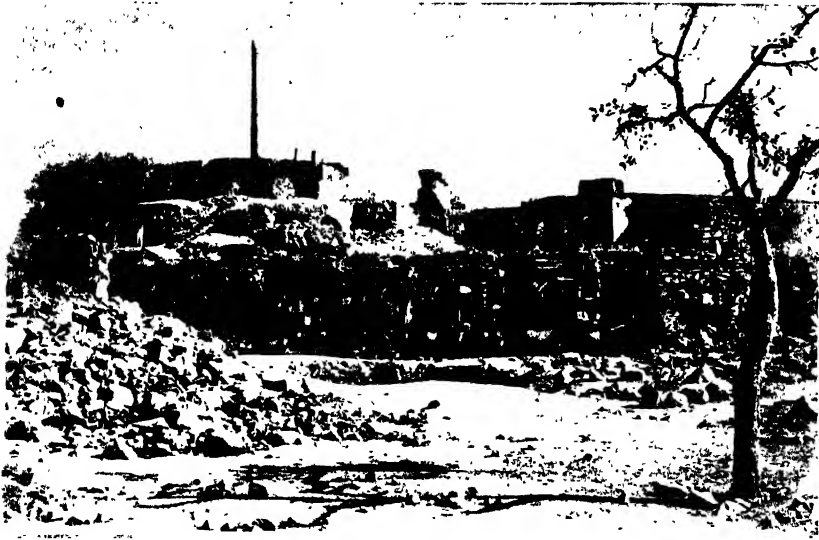
¹ We are indebted to Messrs. Mirza & Sons, for these excellent photographs. Their Album of Delhi is worth a perusal.



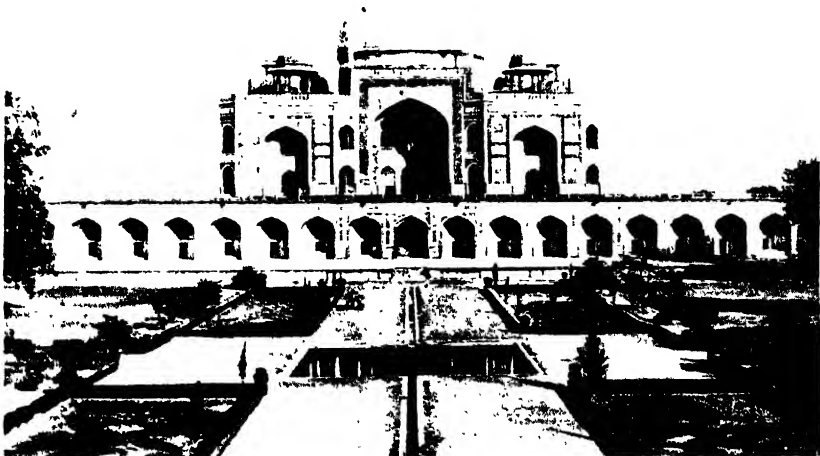
Old Hastinapur lies buried here



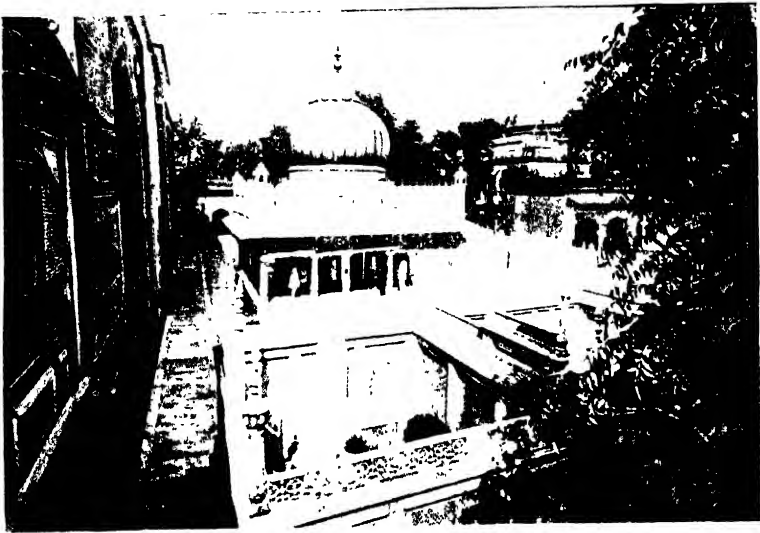
Trichalokeshwari in ruins



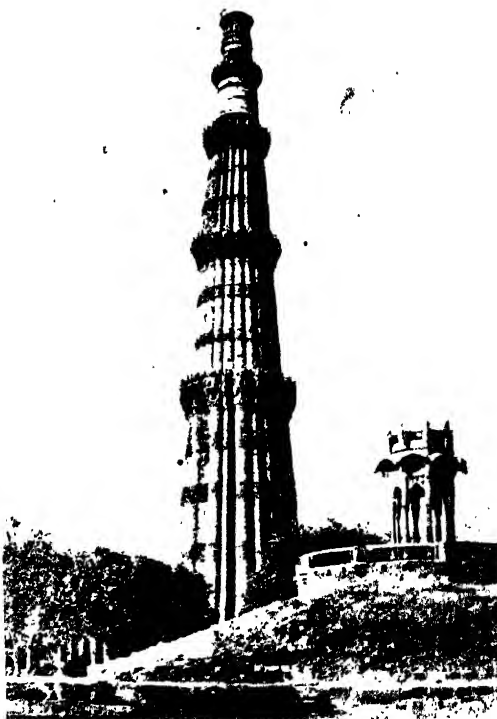
Firoz Shah's Delhi

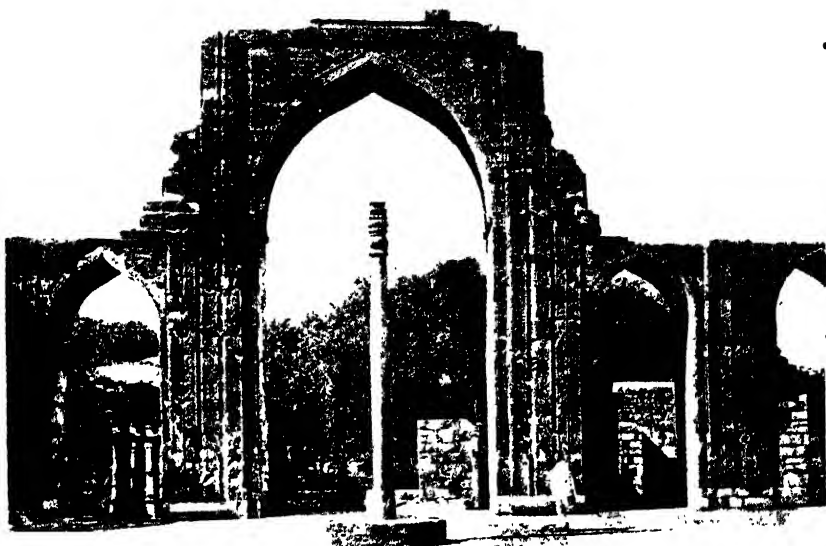


Humayun sleeps here



Green grass (A) is the tomb of Ishana (A)

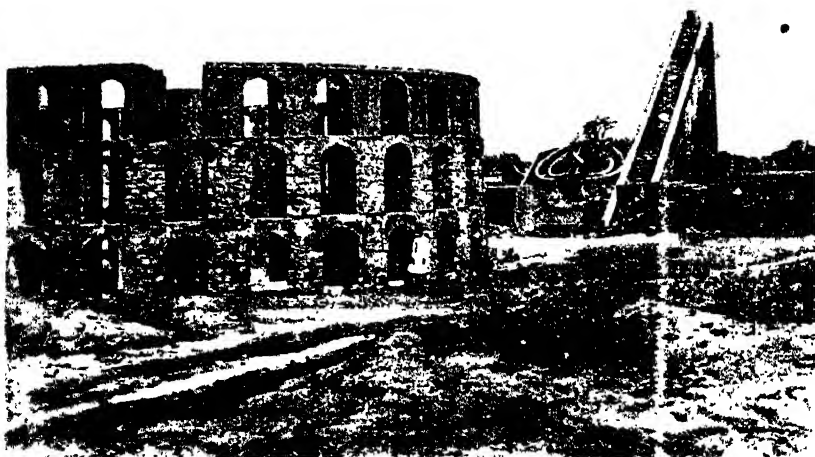




Samudragupta's Iron Pillar

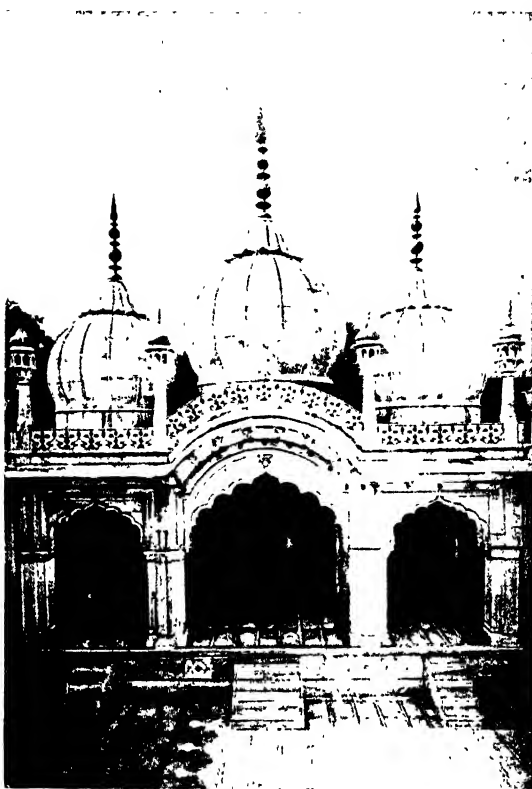


Emperor Alauddin in death watches God in Heaven

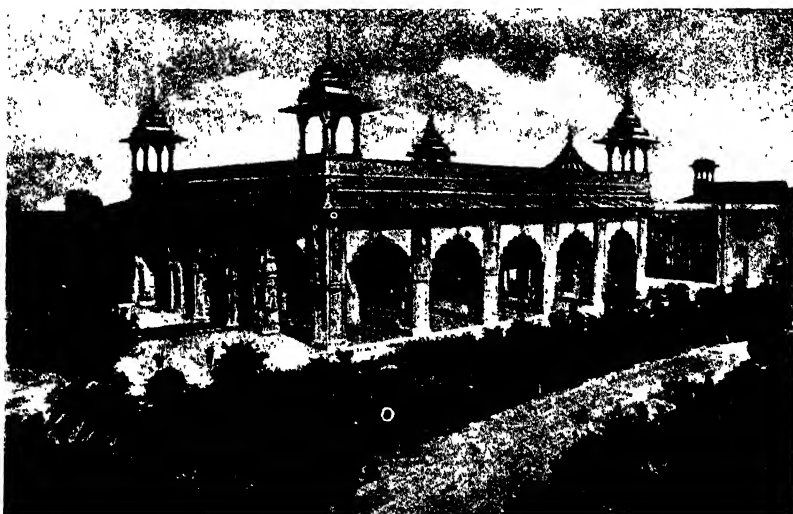


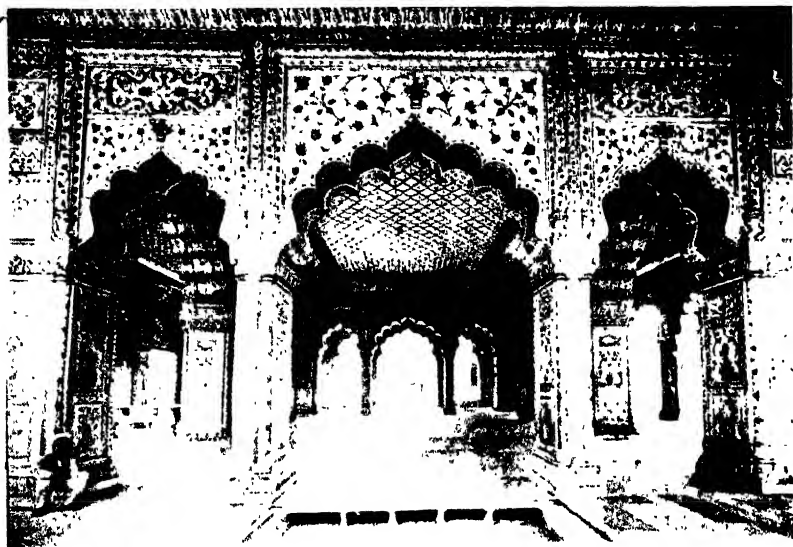
Jantar Mantar (Jaysingh's observatory)



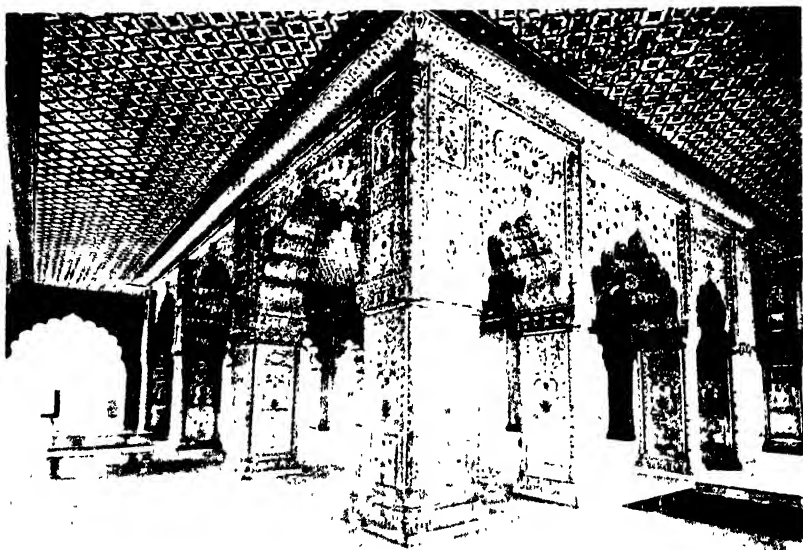


The Pearl Mosque

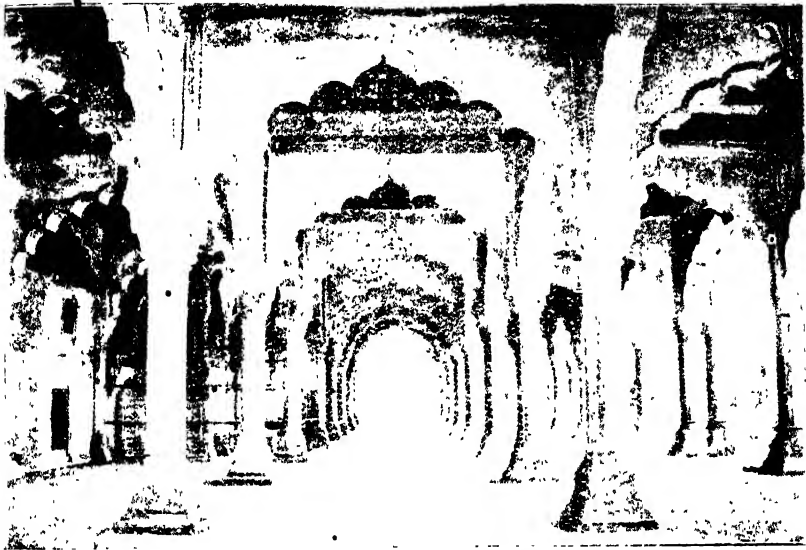




Diwani Khas—Interior



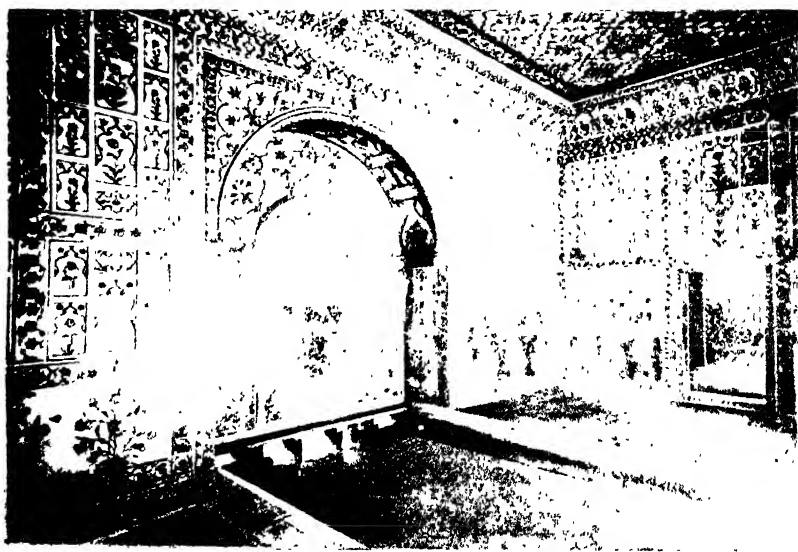
Diwani Khas (Throne in Front)



D i w ā n A m



H a m a m



Seat of Justice

Reviews

"Modern English Poetry" (Its Characteristics and Tendencies) ;
by J. H. Cousins (Ganesh and Co., Madras, 1921).

This highly interesting and valuable small book of illuminating critical survey of the elements of modern English poetry, taken rather in an extended sense of the term so as to include "Indo Anglián"¹ as well as American Poetry of to-day, has grown out of a course of public lectures in Literature delivered in 1919 at Tokyo and is appropriately dedicated to Yone Noguchi and the Young Party in Japan. It contains seven chapters the last of which is devoted to the probable future trend of poetry. The author modestly claims that here only the ground-plan is sketched of a fascinating study.

The scope of modern English poetry as conceived in the opening chapter comprehends the poetry of Australia, Canada, America, India and Ireland besides that of England. The term modern as applied to poetry, the author rightly insists, may usefully indicate literary chronology which "officially began when Keats ended" but not qualities of poetry. He clearly explains his point of view by adding that "the real history of poetry does not move from past to present, but from the transient towards the permanent, from the animal towards the spiritual." There is a further elaboration of the true way of progress in poetry at pp. 172-174.

The school of thought and art-criticism represented by the author is indicated by his views regarding the function of art, the meaning of artistic creation, and the true test of poetry.

According to him the function of art is "interpretation, exaltation, the disengaging of the essentials of life from its trivialities"; the act of artistic creation is "the reflection of the divine creative urge in the universe" and the "production of an entity of greater spiritual value" to enable us "to contemplate the vision of the invisible." Criticism will apply more and more strictly in the future the standard of spiritual vision, for

¹ This newly coined term is explained at p. 179 of the author's, "Renaissance in India" (in the essay on Literary Ideals).

"it is vision that lifts poetry out of the transiency of emotion." So "given two poems of equal beauty of expression, that one will have the longest life which adds significance to sound, and insight to imagination." This is not the test applied to-day to poetry but it is one that "a wiser criticism will apply." The new era is the era of spiritual evolution and "greatness in poetry can only spring from greatness of consciousness" which "inevitably embraces the contemplation of the fundamental relationships of humanity with itself and the universe and expresses them." He is thankful for indications in the new English poetry "that the door to this deeper Life is almost ajar." There is an elaborate enunciation of the function of poetry in the (last) chapter on the future of English poetry at pp. 188-193 in which reference is made to the region "somewhere behind the veil of the senses" where the arts are one and are "traceable to experience in consciousness." The simple fact, as it appears to us, is that very deep is the influence of the India of the *Upanishads* on Mr. Cousins (cf. p. 10, 14 and 194) which partly explains his just, yet generous, appreciation of not only the superb paetic genius of the world-poet Rabindranath Tagore but of the work of Aurobindo Ghose, Mrs. Naidu, and the young poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. He discovers a spiritual affinity in the poetry of Tagore and Yeats.

Mr Cousins is decidedly of a spiritual temperament and though free from bias or prejudice is rather inclined to be a bit impatient in dealing with poets who are frankly sensuous or openly defiant towards the religious spirit. Hence possibly the strong but not unjust words of rebuke flung at poets like J. C. Squire and Flecker who deserve a word of courageous and frank criticism against their cock-sure attitude of enjoyment of the world of sense not penetrated by the higher vision of things eternal. His preference is for the elements of vision splendid, deep thought, philosophic insight, religious consciousness, noble seriousness and ecstatic utterance. To him D. H. Lawrence in his earlier work is "the laureate of youth's futilities" and even Rupert Brooke shows more of "melodious youthfulness—a matter of nerves, not of consciousness"—than of "the true tension of the spirit which is the living principle in literature," whereas Masfield, though not a great poet, stands high "through the exercise of intuition based on wide experience and reflection." The chapter (VI) on the new American poetry is full of fearlessly outspoken criticism on the "newest new poetry" of Miss Monroe, Miss Lowell, or Ezra Pound and contains some humorous hard hits on the new theories of poetry started by these writers. Equally unsparing are his courageous and frank remarks on "the febrile state known in the West as love—a mere sex-function" and its poetry,

on modernity, Imagist poets, on the foolish controversy over rhymed *versus* free verse, on patriotic poetry and incidentally on patriotism, true and false, and true democracy.

The special characteristic of the Irish Literary Revival on the other hand is a "tension towards an expansion of consciousness" and the result of the Irish movement is, so far as its influence on English poetry is concerned, to call "humanity away from satisfaction in things seen or felt or heard to some deeper satisfaction of the soul, some affirmation of the immortal spirit." As regards the future evolution of poetry, "the heralds are with us already in A. E. and Tagore; Blake is of them"—"superlative masters in song whose eyes are not dazzled by the surface glitter."

We cannot praise too highly the sublime perfection of the concluding paragraphs at pp. 212-214 which are too long for quotation and should not be spoiled by a summary.

J. G. B.

The Angami Nagas—With some notes on Neighbouring Tribes by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., I.C.S., with maps and illustrations. Pp. xv, 480. 1921. Macmillan & Co.

Of the various monographs published on the Assam tribes up to the present day Mr. Hutton's seems to be the best, the most up-to-date and exhaustive. Though the author calls himself as 'a mere amateur' the work is full of information as we would have got from a trained anthropologist with the advantage that there is no prepossession on behalf of any favourite theory as is often the case with the latter. The chapters deal with domestic life, laws and customs, language, religion and folklore. There are very useful appendices and an exhaustive index. The chapter on folklore would have been more useful and valuable if the original version had been given along with the translation and the source of information noted in every case. The author has devoted a short appendix to Mr. Perry's appendix, only drawing attention to his articles but his recent work 'Megalithic Cultures in Indonesia' should not have been passed over in silence. It would have been interesting if all the points emphasised by Mr. Perry could have been examined in the manner he does his theory of orientation of the dead. In fact a little more of comparative study from the standpoint of an unbiassed field-worker would have

advanced the cause of Anthropology in general. In India there is such a heaping up of facts *qua* facts and often repetition in the District Gazetteer, Census Reports and books on Tribes and Castes that it is very hard for the student to wade his way through. In fact our author is to be congratulated in bringing in so much new matter and avoiding facts already dealt with in previous books such as Hodson's 'Naga Tribes of Manipur.' The Anthropometrical appendix is highly useful and one wishes for more anthropometric data from Assam to examine there the extent of Austro-Asiatic influence, if any from the physical standpoint. So in Religion the conception of the Angamis of the sun as female and the moon male would have yielded interesting conclusions in connection with the religious belief of other Austronesian peoples. The interesting custom of bachelor's dormitories and those for unmarried girls which is found by the author amongst the Memi, the Aos is also important from the comparative standpoint being widespread from Chhota Nagpur to Melanesia and Polynesia. Head-hunting, the use of masks, etc., all examined from the point of view of distribution as well as intensive study on the field would have helped to remove many misconceptions or confirmed the daring speculations of the modern ethnological school. But for the lack of this comparative standpoint and a dynamic view of society the author's contributions would have ranked beside the masterpieces of Rivers or Seligmann on the Todas or the Veddas.

P. M.

The Chirala Peralā Tragedy—Price Re. 1, Ganesh & Co., Madras.

This book gives an account of the voluntary exile which the people of Chirala, a village in the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency, chose when a Municipality was imposed on them against their will. The leader of the movement, Mr. Duggirala Gopalakrishnyya is an Honours Graduate of the Edinburgh University and a patriot of great piety and power of leadership. His speeches and writings are touched by a high idealism and as a witness thereof we may cite his final statement before the District Magistrate of Guntur (pp. 136-153). The book relates the growth of personality or the crash of character according as we accept or reject the principles of the non-co-operation movement. It is a valuable addition to the literature published by that enterprising firm of Madras, Ganesh & Co., on the new way of political thinking which has found favour with one section of our people.

R.

Ourselfes

Our readers will, no doubt, peruse with interest the two Addresses delivered by the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor at the Annual Convocation held on Saturday, the 18th March, 1922. Both the Addresses will supply ample material for reflection to all thoughtful minds. But that the same subject may produce very different effects upon different minds, is well illustrated by the following comments on the addresses which recently appeared in some of the leading periodicals published in the city.

THE INDIAN DAILY NEWS

21st March, 1922.

“Sir Asutosh Mookerjee’s Convocation Address is one of the best ever delivered on a similar occasion and deserves to be widely read. It is a complete vindication of the methods and aims of the Calcutta University and if it has to justify itself as a Teaching and Research University it can do worse than proceed along lines indicated by Sir Asutosh. In the departments of both Arts and Science the University has always had high ideals held up before it. And those ideals are by no means exclusively foreign. They are mainly national, the foreign element not displacing but to a large extent leavening them. “The Indian Universities,” Sir Asutosh says, “have not yet been able to take root in the life of the nation because they have been exotics. India was and is civilised. Western civilisation, however valuable as a factor in the progress of mankind, should not supersede much less be permitted to destroy the vital elements of our civilisation. I claim that in no other University in India has this view been realised and carried into effect as has been done in Calcutta.” He develops this idea throughout his address and points out the strides the University has made and has been making. The post-graduate classes

are not his fault. They are the outcome of the Government scheme of 1917 and he has been nursing them with tender care so that the youth of Bengal may be benefited. They have lately been subjected to a good deal of captious criticism—spiteful, venomous outbursts which have never appealed to the sane mind of Bengal. The University has had of late a very rude shock at the hands of the non-co-operators, but it ought to make a rapid recovery now that both the students and their guardians have realised the mischievous character of the movement. The “Golamkhana” was similarly assailed during the Swadeshi days, but where are its assailants to-day? For our part we would advise Sir Asutosh to go on with his great nation-building work quite undaunted and his name will go down to posterity as one of its greatest benefactors. To teach the young mind how to shoot is one of the highest privileges of man.

THE CAPITAL

23rd March, 1922.

“At the Convocation of the Calcutta University on Saturday, Lord Ronaldshay, Chancellor, delivered an eulogium of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the broad-fronted Caesar of the Indian University world whom spiteful pigmies are now attacking with poisoned arrows. “Far more than any other individual,” said His Excellency, “Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been responsible for converting the Calcutta University from a mere examining board into an active centre of teaching and research.” A true tribute spoken in good time.

His Excellency said that the greatest landmark in the history of the Calcutta University was the creation of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies which the Vice-Chancellor’s critics have made the excuse for their waspish attacks on his administration. After dwelling on the importance, nay, the necessity of the department, the Chancellor concluded with the hope that the legislature would not lose sight of the importance of post-graduate work in shaping the future of Bengal, and that the University would consider whether in view of the straitened financial circumstances of the times it might not prove possible, without impairing the work of the post-graduate department, to prosecute it at somewhat smaller expenditure from University funds.

Sir Asutosh in a speech of great eloquence and much close logic took a comprehensive survey of the whole field of higher education in Bengal,

detailing with pardonable pride the achievement of the Calcutta University, always, the foremost of the line in India. Here is his ideal of an University :

"To my mind the University is a great store-house of learning, a great bureau of standards, a great workshop of knowledge, a great laboratory for the training as well of men of thought as of men of action. The University is thus the instrument of the State for the conservation of knowledge, for the discovery of knowledge, for the distribution of knowledge, for the applications of knowledge, and above all, for the creation of knowledge-makers."

He claimed that the foundations of such an university were truly laid in Calcutta. This claim will not be disputed by the most casual reader of the Vice-Chancellor's catalogue of Departments, Chairs and Fellowships. Instead of carping it would show a much higher love of country if the hostile critics would set to work to collect money to make the Post-Graduate Department independent of official doles from Simla or Writers' Buildings. To pick holes is easy in any human fabric, but the better way is to employ one's energy in mending them.

A valued correspondent writes :—"Sometimes it is quite wonderful how unreasonable and unsympathetic the world gets. A great citizen of Calcutta, a man of outstanding abilities, who might have earned an enormous fortune as a lawyer, sacrificed everything and worked as few men either will or can work, to make Calcutta University what it is now. Like large-minded men, however, he dared and did great things. Men of smaller calibre, watching their opportunity, are now closing in upon him for his 'extravagance' and threatening to destroy the work of his life. 'Do not irritate us,' say those who hold the public purse-strings, 'or we shall lay the axe to this great tree.' As though public policy could depend on the temper of Ministers."

THE AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA

23rd March, 1922.

"SUGAR-COATED PILL."

Lord Ronaldshay's convocation speech was a very clever performance from all points of view. Though couched in the most pleasant words and full of compliments to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, it was nothing but a sugar-coated pill—a veiled criticism of the present administration of the Calcutta

University and specially its financial condition. Lord Ronaldshay like an accomplished speaker, as he is, began his speech by praising Sir Asutosh—his untiring energy and the ungrudging service rendered by him to his *Alma Mater*. He also praised Sir Asutosh for his share in transforming an examining University into a teaching University and styled it as “Modern Nalanda.” Lord Ronaldshay specially mentioned the council of post-graduate studies as “the greatest land-mark in the history of the University in recent years.” But these compliments were only a clever prelude to what was coming. He soon turned round and attacked the post-graduate department thus:—“It is precisely the post-graduate department of the University which seems to be exciting the most adverse criticism of the Indian public at the present time.”

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Lord Ronaldshay did not also hesitate to trace out the cause of this public criticism and dissatisfaction. According to him the public think that the post-graduate department of the University is too costly and it is fed at the expense of the general department. Imagine that as much as one-third of the fee-fund, he exclaimed, is allocated to post-graduate teaching under the rules, that is, most of the money derived from fees paid by ordinary students are spent for the benefit of a limited number of special class of students. This is a kind of selfish luxury. Lord Ronaldshay at first assumed an air of surprise that the public should think so, but in the next breath he said, that in view of the present financial condition of the University, the extravagance of the post-graduate department should be curbed and the University authorities should not wildly aspire to widen the range of studies of the post-graduate department. We quote his words:—“I am not disposed to deny that in a poor country there are obvious limits to the extent to which such studies can reasonably be financed by public funds.” Here some one might have asked, as Sir Asutosh later on actually did, “what about the financial help from the Government? If the University has no money for such noble object as post-graduate study, then the Government must supply the money.” Lord Ronaldshay was ready for the reply. He said that the Legislature could not pay any money now as “the Legislature itself with its extremely exiguous resources, is faced with many urgent demands.”

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Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, as clever as Lord Ronaldshay, no doubt received the hit in the spirit it was given and replied :—

“The custodians of the public funds though repeatedly approached have met the legitimate demand of the University with steady and persistent refusal. To me it is an unfathomable mystery that administrators in responsible positions should fail to be inspired to a sense of their paramount duty as servants of the people, even by the magnificent spectacle of self-sacrifice presented by the noble examples of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbihari Ghose.” None can deny that Sir Asutosh returned the blow magnificently and Lord Ronaldshay, we doubt not, enjoyed it. We shall not be very wrong if we discover in these lines something even for Mr. P. C. Mitter, sometime Vakil, High Court, who behaved most cruelly towards his *Alma Mater* forgetting the example of lawyers like Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbihari Ghose. It is undeniable that the treatment of the Education Department towards the Science College has amounted almost to a crime, as the letter of Dr. P. C. Roy published in these columns sometime ago clearly showed. It will be an eternal shame both to the Government and the people of Bengal if the institution founded by the self-sacrifice of Ghosh and Palit collapse for want of funds.

Under the presidency of the eminent Indologist, M. Émile Senart of Paris, Dr. Gaurangamath Banerjee, Lecturer on Egyptology and Assyriology, has been elected a “Membre de la Société Asiatique” of Paris. M. Clement Huart, Director of the Studies of School of Hautes Etudes and M. Lucien Bouvat, Librarian of the Society, presented Dr. Banerjee. We are gratified to find that Dr. Banerjee has gained this high academic distinction.

UNIVERSITIES IN DANGER

PARLOUS STATE OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

ROYAL COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Oxford and Cambridge Universities are threatened with extinction unless Government comes to the rescue, is the burden of the Royal Commission's report recommending an annual State grant of £110,000 each, as the minimum necessary to prevent immediate decline, but as utterly insufficient for future development. The parlous state is mainly due to the change in money values.

The report adds, "The idle-rich idea can no longer be associated with the Universities. The undergraduates are for the most part hardworking and serious-minded. A large proportion are poor men." The Report recommends "higher pay for the professors, more scholarships and grants to the women's colleges."

The above telegram will furnish ample indication that the Calcutta University is not the only University which is "threatened with extinction" by reason of financial stringency. The only difference is that while people in Great Britain appreciate the importance of University education for national progress, people in Bengal may not be equally alive to the needs of the situation.

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The importance of the work carried out by Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose, University Lecturer in the department of Experimental Psychology, has received well-merited recognition from beyond the limits of India. The illustrious scientist Professor Dr. Freud of Vienna writes as follows :

"It was a great and pleasant surprise that the first book on a psychoanalytic subject, which came to us from that part of the world (India), should display so good a knowledge of Psychoanalysis, so deep an insight into its difficulties and so much of deep-going original thought. Dr. Bose has singled out the concept of repression for his inquiry and in treating this theoretical matter has provided us with precious suggestions and intense motives for further study. Dr. Bose is aiming at philosophical evolution

Dr. H. N. Russell, Professor of Astro-physics in the Princeton University, speaks on the same subject as follows :

“ The application of these principles to the Sun and stars which bids fair to open up a field of very great importance was first made, a year or so ago, by Dr. Meghnad Saha, an East Indian, who is a Professor in the University of Calcutta. Following his lead, we may learn a deal about what is happening in the Sun and stars.” Dr. Meghnad Saha is now in Calcutta working in the University College of Science on the modest sum of Rs. 500 a month, though he has had more lucrative offers elsewhere ; but he cannot get the necessary appliances to carry on his researches, even though a scientist like Prof. Einstein should maintain that it is in the interest of Science that Dr. Saha should be enabled to continue his investigations. It is undeniable that but for the opportunities given to Dr. Saha in the University College of Science as research scholar and lecturer, it would have been impossible for him to undertake the work he has so far successfully accomplished. The logical conclusion, according to some cultured persons, is that the work of the Vice-Chancellor should be belittled, the work of the scholars in the University should be hampered, and the University Post-Graduate teachers should be dispersed all over the country. We hope to be able to publish in a future issue a popular account of the work of Dr. Meghnad Saha and to indicate the adverse circumstances under which he and others like him have been kept alive by the efforts of the one man whose ideal is a great University in Calcutta.

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Apropos the rumour, which, not many months ago certain “ friends ” of the University were busily engaged in spreading, namely, that the University authorities were guilty of making *improper* use of certain Trust Funds, the following statement, which was placed by the Registrar before the Senate on 4th March last may interest our readers :

“ $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. G. P. Notes for Rs. 10,50,000, being the equivalent of Rs. 6,25,000, were endorsed to Hajee Ganny Ahamed on the 19th September, 1921, and were received back from him on 22nd February, 1922. Hence the G. P. Notes were in his possession for *5 months and 3 days*. Interest for the above period, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. amounts to Rs. 15,616-12-0. This amount the University did not get. But a total sum of Rs. 51,064-11-6 on account of interest was paid by the mortgagor during this period of 5 months and 3 days. Thus the University made a profit of Rs. 35,445-15-6 in this transaction. Deducting Rs. 2,625, being the amount charged by the Bank as withdrawal fee on the above G. P. Notes, University has got a clear net profit of Rs. 32,820-15-6.”

The Senate, it should be borne in mind, proceeded to invest the securities in the Sir Rashbihary Chose Fund on mortgage of immovable property in Calcutta, only after the necessary sanction had been received from the High Court; it is, therefore, mischievous to assert that the transaction was improper and illegal.

What is the immediate result of this transaction? With the extra income thus derived a workshop is being erected in the University College of Science for the benefit of students of Applied Chemistry. And here again one has but a woeful tale to narrate. It is said that the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education entertained—and, we are always open to correction—an attitude of utmost sympathy towards the Science College. But though the University sent a letter to that Government on 5th February, 1921 asking for financial assistance for the erection of a workshop, the Government, after a mature and careful deliberation extending over a period of nine months informed the University on 15th November, 1921 of its inability to comply with its request.

But, thanks to the tact and resourcefulness of the Vice-Chancellor, the Science College is, after all, going to have a workshop.

RAMZAN AND THE UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The following Statement was read before the Senate on Saturday, the 25th of March, 1922 :

" In December and in January last, numerous applications were received from candidates for the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, praying that the Examinations might be held later than usual in as much as there had been, in many cases, serious interference with the progress of their studies by reason of prevailing political excitement in the country. Memorials to the same effect, were also submitted to His Excellency the Governor as Chancellor of the University. This was borne in mind when the dates for the Examinations were fixed by the Syndicate on the 20th January, 1922. The Matriculation Examination was directed to commence on the 6th April, so that it might be finished on the 12th April, before the commencement of the Easter Holidays. As regards the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, it was impossible to commence them at the same time as the Matriculation Examination on account of want of accommodation. Much less feasible would it be to hold all the five Examinations simultaneously. The Syndicate accordingly decided to commence some of the smaller subjects for the I.A. and I.Sc. and the Honours Subjects for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations before the Easter and to continue those Examinations in other subjects after the Easter. The Syndicate found that the consequence would be to make the latter part of those Examinations extend into the month of Ramzan which would commence on the 29th April. To minimise the inconvenience to the Muhammadan students, the Syndicate decided to have one paper only in the day and that as early in the day as practicable. For the younger students, that is, candidates in the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, the Syndicate fixed the time from 6-45 A.M. to 9-45 A.M. For the older

students, *i.e.*, candidates in the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, the Syndicate fixed the time from 10-30 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. According to the estimate of probable numbers of candidates at the I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations and in view of the accommodation available, the Syndicate could not fix the time for I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations from 6-45 A.M. to 9-45 A.M. Later on, it transpired that the number of candidates at each of those Examinations was smaller than had been anticipated. Under the instructions of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, the Controller of Examinations at once made an enquiry from the Superintendents at different centres whether from the 29th April all the candidates for the I.A., I.Sc., B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations could be simultaneously accommodated between 6-45 A.M. and 9-45 A.M. A favourable reply was received and orders were forthwith issued that from the 2nd May, papers for the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations, like those for the I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, would be given out at 6-45 A.M. It will thus be seen that the question of the convenience of Muhammadan candidates has been constantly kept in view and everything that is practicable has been done with a view to minimise possible inconvenience.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor was informed by Mr. Gourlay that Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque had expressed a desire to see His Excellency the Chancellor with a view to make a representation to him on the subject and had been advised to see the University authorities. It must be remembered that, under the Regulations, the Syndicate alone appoints the dates for Examinations. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque did not, thereafter, bring the matter to the notice of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor; whatever action has been taken by the Syndicate has been taken of its own motion in the interest of Muhammadan candidates.

It was suggested by some students who interviewed the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor that the Examinations might be

interrupted from the 29th April and resumed after the lapse of a month. The Syndicate considered this impracticable.

It has been ascertained that, on many occasions in previous years, University Examinations had been held in the month of Ramzan and no objection had been raised."



CAPTURE OF BAHADUR SHAH, THE LAST MOGUL EMPEROR.

1858.—Prof. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., D.Litt.

(By courtesy of the *Bangala*)

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1922



CONTENTMENT

For dress no gilded robe,—a simple cloth ;
For food and drink —some bread, a jug of wine ;
A mind—vivid and quick, well-ordered and well-stored ;
A heart—aglow for Freedom, filled with honest pride ;
My Home—a holy shrine of Perfect Love and Peace.
These be the all that Ibn Yamin asks :
Not for the fabled wealth of Kaiqobād,
Nor for that glittering bauble—Khūshru's Crown—
Would he forego them ;
No, nor even exchange !

S. KHUḌA BUKHSH

ORIGIN OF INDIAN DRAMA

One of the most perplexing questions in the field of Indology concerns itself with the origin of ancient Indian drama. Bharata the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives the following legendary account in the matter. "Once upon a time the gods requested Brahmadeva to provide them with a novel pastime of which all persons could take advantage irrespective of caste distinctions. Thereupon Brahmadeva took *words* from Rigveda, *songs* from Sāmaveda, *gestures* from Yajurveda, and *emotions* from Atharvaveda and produced a new Veda called the *Nāṭya* or Dramatics. A practical exhibition of it was arranged for on the occasion of the 'Indradhvaja' festival, the sons and disciples of Bharatamuni together with Gandharvas and Apsarasas being the actors. The first play enacted* (it was a *Samavakāra* called *Amṛitamanthana* followed by a *Diina* named *Tripuradāha*) painted the *Dānavas* in an unfavourable light, which they naturally resented. They had to be conciliated with the assurance that Drama is a representation of facts and would not be deliberately partial to anybody. On another occasion, in a comic vein, the actors made fun of certain holy sages and were cursed in consequence with the loss of their status, which thereafter came to be on a par with that of the *Śūdras*. King Nahusha of Epic fame was the first to establish a theatre on earth, compelling the heavenly nymphs and songsters to come down to the world below, where they married and mixed with mortals." In this account we note four important points: that the new science of Dramatics isolated and elaborated certain specific features of the already existing four Vedas; that the first play was enacted on the occasion of a religious festival; that both men and women took parts in it; and that the social status of the actors was inferior—in the words of the original they were to be 'servitors

feeding upon the earnings of their young boys and girls.' The date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is much debated. It seems to be a secondary metrical compilation on the basis of an original work of the *Sūtra* type, and not all the chapters of the present work can be said to belong to the same period and authorship, the proposed dates varying from B. C. 100 to A. D. 600. Bharata's is a revered name, being quoted by Bhāsa and Kālidāsa. It is likely that Pāṇini's reference to "*Nāṭasūtras*" is to a predecessor of this Bharata.

As none of the extant plays can be definitely assigned to a date much prior to the beginning of the Christian era, and as the fact of a prolonged contact between the Indians and the Greeks in the centuries following the invasion of Alexander is undeniable, the idea naturally arose of a possible patterning of the Indian drama on the model of the Greek. The thesis was first elaborated by E. Windisch (1882). The division into Acts, the Prologues and Epilogues, the method of entrance and exit and the variety of stage-directions, the name "*Yavanikā*" as applied to the curtain in front of which the actors played their parts, the plot and its management, the stereotyped characters like the Jester, the Rival, the Confidante, etc., *motifs* like "recognition," the *Sūtradhāra*, or *Sihāpaka* whose function was somewhat analogous to the Leader of the Chorus; these and many more points of contact between the Greek and the Indian plays were by him fully set forth, while the undeniable divergences between the two were sought to be explained away as due to differences of race, country, and clime. To crown all this literary evidence, there was discovered a few years ago at Sitābengā cave what appears to be an imitation of a Greek theatre, although competent observers declare the points of resemblance to be extremely slender. This theory of the Greek origin of Indian theatre has now been generally rejected. The points of divergence between the two are many and far-reaching: There is nothing in the Indian plays to correspond to the

masks, and high shoes, the limitation in the number of characters that might appear simultaneously on the stage, or the observance of the Unities, especially those of Time and Place ; in these respects the Indian plays present more analogies with the plays of the Elizabethan period, but nobody desires to suggest a borrowing as between these two last. In fact Windisch himself has recently claimed in his History of Sanskrit Philology in the *Grundriss*, Part II, p. 401, that he should not be understood to have meant that the *origin* of the Indian Drama was due *exclusively* to Greek influence, but that it must have received in the course of its development some important hints from the Greek (*i.e.*, New Attic) plays. This in itself is not improbable, at any rate with regard to plays produced in that part of the country within the range of Greek influence. But that does not concern us now.

Being driven to find out an indigenous origin for the Indian Drama scholars next pounced upon the several theories current in Europe to explain the origin of drama, and thought that they ought to be applicable no less to the Indian Drama. One scholar argued that as the first Indian play is stated to have been produced at the "Indradhvaja" festival and as at this festival a pole plays a prominent part as the object of worship, thereby suggesting the May-pole Dance of Europe, the origin of Indian Drama was to be connected with the ceremonies associated with the festivities of the Spring after the end of the dreary and lifeless Winter. Unhappily for the theory the "Indradhvaja" festival comes at the end of the rains and indicates Indra's victory over the Cloud-demons. Nevertheless and apart from the argument derived from the occasion when the first Indian play was performed, it has been maintained with much show of reason that almost all dramas—the Indian amongst others—are connected with the primitive ritual which marks the killing of the Winter-demon by Powers of Light and Sunshine, leading to a revival of the Vegetation-spirit after the period of its

demise during Winter. All races and peoples, it must be admitted, possess some sort of religious festivities marking the advent of the Spring,¹ and these festivities might conceivably include singing and dancing. But we want more positive evidence than what has been available hitherto to declare that a specific literary type like the drama was evolved out of the ritual attending these rites.

Another theory propounded connects the drama with the ritual regarding the dead ancestors. The theory seems certainly to hold good in the case of some races or countries whose ritual for the disposing of the dead is more expressive and elaborate than is the case with the Indian Aryans. Whatever the merits of the theory, therefore, for general ethnology, it utterly fails in the case of India. Ridgeway, the author of the theory, has not been able to adduce convincing evidence for the Indian side of the question, which therefore we might pass over for the time.

Still another theory connects the origin of the Indian Drama with the rise and spread of the worship of Kṛishṇa. It has of course to be admitted that the worship of the Child-god evokes a good deal of popular enthusiasm throughout India and particularly in those parts of Northern India which are immediately associated with the divine sports of the God. There are songs, processions, dances, recitations, races, and numerous other public forms of festivity and worship; and most of them partake of a mimic reproduction of the exploits of the Lord by his votaries of either sex. Certain features of the Classical Indian drama, such as the rôle which the Śaurasenī Prakrit normally plays in it, are easily explicable on this theory; for the Śaurasenī was the language spoken in the country of Śūrasena a Yādava Prince and ancestor of Kṛishṇa. But until it can be proved that Kṛishṇa dramas were the earliest Indian dramas, all that can be asserted is

¹ For example, the Phallic Orgies of Rome, the Dionysia of Greece, and the Holī in India.

that the popular worship connected with this God contributed many features to the development of the Indian drama, which probably was in vogue in some shape or other long before the advent of Kṛiṣṇa. The worship of Rudra-Śiva, of Rāma—and for the matter of that of a number of other lesser local gods—could have called forth, and probably did call forth, dramatic efforts of a similar type in various parts of India from earliest times onwards.

The Stage-manager in an Indian play is called “Sūtra-dhāra,” lit. string-holder, and the Sthāpaka who, according to the requirements of Indian dramatic theory, was to enter next after the Stage-manager, being dressed in the same fashion as the latter (but who is generally omitted from the normal Sanskrit play), derived his name from the fact that he was expected to “place in proper position” something or other. This has suggested to R. Pischel the theory that the Indian play was in origin a Puppet-show. Puppets are mentioned in Sanskrit literature frequently—the Sanskrit names for them being *puttalikā*, *pāñchālikā*, *putrikā* or *dārumayī yoshū*.¹ They could be made to move about or dance by mechanical arrangements; and by introducing a little starling into their mouth they could be made even to talk: such a talking puppet impersonating Sītā being actually introduced in one of Rājaśekhara’s plays! Concurrently with the Puppet-show ancient India also had Shadow-play, wherein moving shadows thrown upon a curtain from behind executed the action of the plot. The name Rūpaka (lit. ‘little-forms’ or ‘dealing with forms’) as a generic name for Sanskrit plays is best explained as an heritage from the Shadow-play, and the Shadow-Sītā introduced in the third Act of Bhavabhūti’s Uttara-Rāma-charita acquires a new theatrical value from this point of view.

¹ Cf. Mahābhārata. iii. 30, 23 :—

यथा दारुमयौ योषां नरो धीरः समाहितः ।

इक्षुव्यङ्गमङ्गानि तथा राजनिमाः प्रजाः ॥

Although, therefore, the existence of both these forms of amusement in ancient India is undisputed, they are not by themselves sufficient for an adequate explanation of the Indian drama as we know it in all its bearings. We cannot thereby explain, for instance, the mixture of verse and prose or of Sanskrit and Prakrit that we notice in an Indian play. For the explanation of these factors we must seek in other directions.

The Rigveda, the earliest extant literary monument of the Indo-Aryans, contains nearly twenty Sūktas or Hymns which are thrown in the form of a monologue or dialogue; and although a difference of opinion has always existed as to the exact meaning of some of the hymns or as to the characters to whom some of the passages are to be assigned, the verve and the dramatic spirit of the speeches has been admitted on all hands. There are generally no specific ritualistic prescriptions (*vinijyoga*) accompanying these "Sainvāda-sūktas" and they seem to have been recited between the intervals of long sacrificial sessions for the amusement of the assembled patrons and priests.¹ It is therefore natural to turn to these hymns as forming the earliest beginnings of Indian Drama. While so much is generally conceded, there prevails a great difference of opinion as to the exact form in which the recital was given: whether the hymn was treated as a ballad (as latterly maintained by Pischel); or as a regular ritualistic drama with actual *Dramatis Personæ*, stage-directions, and action including occasionally singing and dancing (as suggested by Leopold von Schröder who cites numerous parallels from the customs of other primitive peoples); or finally as narrative stories with a preponderance of dialogue, there being, at the beginning or end and between speeches, a prose explanation supplied

¹ Cf. Harivamśa, ii. 91. 25 —

तव यज्ञे वर्तमाने सुनाय्येन नटस्तदा ।

महर्षीऽस्मीषयामास भद्रनामिति नामतः ॥

extempore by the reciter to elucidate the situation, to mark off the transition or to bridge the gulf within the narration (as contended by H. Oldenberg with great show of reasoning and an array of analogies culled from the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, and the Pāli literature in particular).

The controversy above indicated is still in full swing. So much seems clear. L. von Schröder in carrying out his theory has at places supplied such elaborate stage-directions that they virtually amount to a confession that the hymns as they actually are before us, and apart from the very ingenious and at times almost convincing subjective interpretation put upon them by the learned scholar, are unintelligible; and then it is an open choice between a prose explanation or an explanation by dramatic acting. Both might have been used according to the circumstances. At the same time it must be readily admitted that portions of most of the Saṁvāda-sūktas read as continuous dialogue and need no extraneous help of any kind. If explanations of some sort are given just at the commencement or at the conclusion *and nowhere in the middle*, that is perfectly in accord with either theory. Monologues such as that of the drunken Indra (RV. x. 119) or the Physician (RV. x. 97) can stand by themselves, and so likewise one or two other Saṁvādas. Hence L. von Schröder's theory is not in itself absolutely improbable, though it cannot be applied universally.

On the other hand, although some of the specific passages (*e.g.*, the Śunaśśepa story from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, or the Purūravas-Urvaśī passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa) adduced by Oldenberg have failed to prove his theory, the evidence of the Pāli Jātakas (as conceded even by Schröder) is entirely in his favour. As is well known, a large number of the Jātaka stories are prose elaborations of a nucleus supplied by some earlier Gāthās—the well-known gnomic collection, the Dhammapada, being just such Gāthās taken out of their narrative framework; and the same holds good—it might

be mentioned in passing—of some of the Questions or Sections of the *Prāśna Upanishad*. That the intervening prose explanations might at times be capped by a verse or two which summarised the points of the prose narrative is also not inconceivable; and the next inevitable step from this would be to assign to the capping verse or verses a status on a par with the original verses of the dialogue. Whether, however, Geldner (who introduced this qualification to Oldenberg's hypothesis) is right in regarding the three specific verses in RV. x. 95 as "*Itihāsa*" verses may well be doubted, as his interpretation of the hymn as a whole cannot be accepted without a grain of salt. Safer under the circumstances is the conclusion of Winternitz who is unwilling to apply any one of these hypotheses universally. "Some of the Dialogue hymns," he says, "are Ballads in which everything is conveyed in speeches couched in a verse form and which at best stand in need, if at all, of a prose introduction; others are the poetic remnants of a narrative consisting of verse parts that have been handed down, as well as prose parts that have not been handed down; while still others are speeches that belonged to a ritualistic drama." The Epics of all nations contain many dramatic dialogues. This only means that the Drama and the Epic are closely allied to each other in origin. And since Oldenberg's assumption of a prose portion of the holy Vedic text that has not been preserved is as unsupported as L. von Schröder's assumption of a ritualistic drama of a pre-Vedic period all traces of which the priestly compilers of the present *Saṁhitā* deliberately effaced from the Canon, it is perhaps safe not to attempt to adjudicate between the two rival theories.

What then shall be our conclusion as to the origin of the Indian Drama? Before the question can be adequately answered it is perhaps as well to remember that under the generic name Indian drama, are included a variety of theatrical performances from a spectacular battle or a gorgeous procession

• with a minimum of speech-making to a long one-character monologue or a complex plot-blending with highly interesting situations. Not all the varieties of the “Rūpakas” were equally popular or developed; and over and above the recognised ten varieties we have, preserved in popular use to the present day, many more forms of amusement partaking more or less of a theatrical character, which must be regarded as relics coming down from a hoary antiquity. We mention here by way of an illustration what is known as the “Gondhal.” As is well known, it begins with a torch-dance around the Goddess where the professional Gondhalis are joined by the head of the house and his sons. Then follows a declamation by the head Gondhalī in mixed verse and prose with appropriate gesture, the two or three assistant Gondhalis (their number never exceeds three) helping the leader by impersonating now a servant, now a minister, now a maid, now a priest—always with change of intonation but no change of apparel. One of the assistants (if not the leader himself) is a great comic actor, and it must be said that although the performance lasts all through the night, it is highly enjoyable—except during the short hours of the early morning when, in spite of the Sambal which is plied with great éclat, the demons of sleep refuse to be successfully exorcised. When I began my study of the Greek theatre some of the theatrical prescriptions current therein strongly reminded me of this Gondhal; and whether anything historical can be concluded from that or not, it is at any rate essential, in tracing the historical growth of the Indian drama, to consider these popular by-forms of it before declaring that a certain line of development—say, the pre-Vedic ritualistic drama as assumed by Schröder—became extinct leaving no traces of it behind.

I feel no hesitation therefore in assuming the existence of the ritualistic drama in the sense of von Schröder in Vedic and pre-Vedic times, seeing that ritual itself is more or less a reflection of the prevailing popular practices. We

know as a matter of fact that the Brāhmanic ritual as elaborated by orthodox priests contains many pronouncedly dramatic features. There is for instance the catechism or the Brahmodya, where stereotyped questions like—Who is it that lonely moves?—and their stereotyped answers—'Tis the Sun that lonely moves—are repeated *ad nauseum*; then there is the little dramatic haggling of the market at the time of the purchase of the Soma, wherein the price proffered ascends from one-sixteenth of a “cow” (the unit of measurement¹) to a full “cow,” the same being paid to the Śūdra merchant who accordingly delivers the Soma to the sacrificer. Unhappily however the greedy merchant is not allowed to enjoy his earnings in peace: After the Soma is obtained, the merchant is robbed of the price paid and is sent home without the Soma and with a few cudgels to boot! This is surely dramatic enough, though ritualistically it might be merely symbolical. And whether the Suparnādhyaṃya is a real drama in over thirty Acts coming from post-Vedic period and so vouchsafing for the continuity of the pre-Vedic ritualistic drama (as maintained by Hertel) or not, there is nothing to hinder the growth of a popular form of Drama after these antecedents. There were dramatic situations enough besides those that have found a literary expression in the Sāmvyāda hymns. And they could be used as *Pāriplavas* or recess-recitations, ballad-wise, or Ākhyāna-wise with the addition of impromptu prose passages, or—should the audience so desire it—as full-fledged ritualistic dramas. And if a piece went off well, surely it is not too much to believe that it might have been repeated even out of an Aśvamedha to which the *Pariplava* really belonged. And each success is a guarantee for fresh attempts.

In addition to these ritualistic dramas where the words used were required to have a large literary value and

¹ Possibly actual cows might have been intended as recent research vouches for the antiquity and indigeneness of Indian Cowage—*vide* Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures for 1921.

finish, there must have existed from earliest times rural festivities attended by appropriate pastimes including therein the Shadow and the Puppet exhibitions, the great antiquity of which is admitted by all. With a growing taste for such performances it is inevitable that there should have risen quite early a class of professionals—the prototypes of the heavenly Gandharvas and Apsarasas—affording for the delectation of the audience no end of clownish buffooneries, grotesque dances, and graceful ballet-girl songs. Their social and moral status is perhaps indicated by the fact that the lexicographers call them not only *rūpopajivin* but also *jāyājivin*¹; and of a like purport is the following passage from the Mahābhāṣya, III, p. 7:—तद्यथा नटानां स्त्रियो रङ्गं गता यो यः पृच्छति कस्य यूयं कस्य यूयमिति तं तं तव तवेत्याहुः एवं व्यञ्जनान्यपि यस्य यस्याचः कार्यमुच्यते तं तं भजन्ते। We can now understand how the Nati or the wife of the Stage-manager always figured prominently in the Prologue. As pointing to the nurture of the drama under simple rustic surroundings, we may here enumerate the use of Prakrits, the mixture of verse and prose (which may find a partial explanation also from Oldenberg's theory), the predominance of dancing and singing, the character of the Vidūshaka, and the paucity of stage-property.

The subject-matter of the drama was not confined always to mythology; it had as wide a range as almost the form of its presentation. If the Vishṇu-Krishṇa cult lent it some specific features, the Rudra-Śiva worship furnished some more, and there would be variations without end introduced by the idiosyncracies of custom and worship as prevalent in different peoples and provinces. The ethico-didactical preachings of the Jaina-Buddhistic religion were probably responsible for the introduction of an allegorical element into the play, whereas the continued Royal patronage of the profession led in all

¹ (1). Rāmāyaṇa, II 3) ५ जलक्षीनिव मा राम परंभ्यो दातुमिच्छामि ।

likelihood to the adumbration of the Court-play or the play of Harem-intrigue, which in time came to be regarded as the norm for all plays, the technical terms of which as preserved to us now being, in the first instance, probably coined for them. Nor need we finally gainsay the possibility of the Indian Stage taking a lesson or two in the way of stage-management from the Greek or New Attic drama when it became known to the Indian Court, though it is easy enough to exaggerate this factor. The Indian drama is a growth of centuries; it was an organism that continually evolved, assimilating into itself each new or foreign factor and yet preserving its own peculiar individuality unabated. No one theory can be adequate to explain all its complex factors. The war of wits that ranges now over one and now over the other of its manifold features and aspects makes the problem more intricate than ever. And this is what we must expect; for the drama purports to be "lokānukṛtiḥ"—μιμῆσις τοῦ βίου,—and it is no wonder if, like life itself, it baffles all analysis.

S. K. BELVALKAR

THE RAN OF CUTCH

Shorn of all the fantastic and legendary signs that mark the post-Renaissance maps; shorn of its two great rivers, the Indus and Ganges flowing due south from north; its islands Kathiawar and Ceylon reduced from their absurd and mythical proportion; its seas no longer one great circumambient or inland water: the map of India to-day would hardly seem a measure of error. And yet in one detail it perpetuates an error of centuries and pays unwilling testimony to the obscurity that has surrounded a portion of India's coast for two thousand years. For the Ran of Cutch neglected and unstudied, still figures in many a map otherwise meticulously exact, as an arm of the sea associated in a partnership it lost long since.

Its contour too suggests a perverted value as a barrier to movement, that the Ran in line has been as great a force as it is now an axiom to believe the desert of Rajputana and the Indus to have been, in segregating the valley of the INDUS. For the Ran has been no such dividing factor. The separateness of the Valley that finds a memory in the title 'India' transferred from the part to the whole that has left a recollection of an age-long division of Sind and Hind in the expression 'Indies,' and to the nomenclature of the nineteenth century transmitted an inheritance of Persian and Arab that drew from a consciousness of the barrier Indus—this proclaims the influence of the desert and the river. But though it now appear a bulwark even more imposing and minatory than the desert, though since the fourteenth century tradition has made of it an abode of desolation approaching death, the semblance of the Ran belies its real significance. From the dim days of the Dravidian to the eleventh and twelfth century migrations from Sind that peopled Cutch and Kathiawar; from the legends that brought Alexander along its coast to the plains of Gujerat, to

the bardic annals that demonstrate a constant strife between the rulers of Sind and Gujerat until the latter passed under the empire of Delhi, the Ran has been no obstacle to migration or to conquest, and with the great desert can have no issue.

Yet if the seclusion of the Indus valley in history be due to the desert and not even in measurable part to the Ran, the latter has been the greatest of factors in concealing its real features from Western knowledge, and there is no part of India in respect to which Europe has indulged in such a riot of geographical errors as the short coast-line from Karachi to Cambay. Traditions with little relation even in origin to reality, in survival defiant of repeated correction and heedless of anachronism over a period of some two thousand years have cast an atmosphere of shade over a coast that still remains in popular knowledge ill-defined and vague. To the Ran the Indus owes the traditions that have on the one hand divorced it from the river of its ancient port Debal, and on the other brought its mouth into the gulf of Cambay; from the Ran again Kathiawar has taken the stories that have made of it an island and Cutch the confusion that has confounded it with Kathiawar or left it dwarfed to a few islets on the eastern coast of a deepened bight. To one and the same factor in short is due the long record that brings the Indus in a course due south from north, that locates its ancient port Debal in the barren surroundings of Makran, and makes play for centuries with the latitude and longitude of the principal sites of Sind.

Of this riot of imagining and the persistence with which traditions that had become purely literary survived their correction by experience, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are rich in examples. Forecast of the confusion of these centuries is the report of Sir Edward Michel borne in 1607 to the East India Company on the advantages of the trade of the Indus, in which he describes Cutch (Jeketta) as within the mouth of the Indus.

* A few years later the Company issued its instructions to Fremlen and to Sir Henry Middleton and still a little later with the landing of the 'Expedition' at Diul (1613) began the practical acquaintance of the West with the intricacies of the Indus delta. To the Company's servants in Sind the ports of the Indus henceforth became well-known as were the features of the gulf of Cambay to those at Surat in the presidency of which the factors of Sind remained; Bornford and Wylde sailed the whole course of the Indus from Lahore to the sea to test its convenience for traffic, and even more the land route that led through Jasalmir was examined for its possible alternative advantages. From Gujerat Sir Thomas Roe (1615) and Pietro Della Valle reported the absence of the Indus from that province, and as a confusion due to swollen inundation or the course of the Mahi ridiculed the current errors of Mercator and others who brought the mighty Indus into the gulf of Cambay. Sir Thomas Roe further emphasised that the river that passed Tatha and Lahribandar was really the Indus and not a separate river. And yet the repetition of history was the same. Nicolo do Conti's more accurate description in the fifteenth century of the gulfs of Cutch and Cambay had not prevented Varthema from bringing the Indus near to Cambaia, nor Maffei from speaking of the 'bicornis Indus' entering the sea in the kingdom of Cambay. The sixteenth century closes the record of Western knowledge with a chapter of absurdest errors. Barbosa had put the kingdom of Debal in Persia and made the Indus a tributary of the Euphrates, and the second Borgian map had brought the Indus direct south into the Gulf of Cambay in a course parallel to the Ganges; the identity of Cutch and Kathiawar had been confused and of the two an island made and placed in the delta of the Indus. But almost each and every of these traditions was carried on by the seventeenth century, spite all its experience, into the next century and well-nigh into the nineteenth.

The tradition that the Indus entered the gulf of Cambay, a consequent no doubt of a confusion of the waters that subsequently became the Ran, reminiscent of a time when the great river of Sind had a more easterly course than now, and a continuation of its waters across the Ran with an outlet by the Nal between Kathiawar and Gujerat was not an imagining too vain, survived until the last. In origin an echo perhaps of the classic idea that made so many rivers flow direct south from north, an echo more confused again of Ptolemy's map which makes a continuous coast from Makran to Cambay and places Saurashtra in the delta of the Indus: corrected in the fifteenth century, again proved false in the sixteenth, it is still accepted by Fryer (1676) who speaks of the Indus falling into the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay, and by Hamilton who later regards Gujerat as the country next to Sind made insular by an arm of the Indus.

And the other tradition so intimately connected with this that the river of Debal was a separate river, the Rio de Diul of Van Linschoten had a similar course. Exposed by the experience of the East India Company, exposed by Sir Thomas Roe, the river of Debal remains a river apart until interest in its position has ceased. In the maps that illustrate the earlier editions of Mandelslo, Harris, or again Pietro Della Valle and Bernier it is a river in Makran sometimes bearing the name Hmand or Hbuent. And emphatic of the way in which traditions were unexamined and passed on is Hamilton's 'New Account' for Hamilton knew the delta between Tatha and Lahribandar yet places an imaginary mouth of the Indus in the Gulf of Cambay and repeats the location of Debal in Makran. Of all the absurdities that the Ran of Cutch has occasioned there is none equal to that which took out of the limits of Sind a port famous for its wealth until at least the thirteenth century and placed it in Mekran.

And there lingered yet other errors that suggest an affinity with the past. Ptolemy's coast was a deltaic coast from Sind

to Cambay running from west to east ; the coast of the Arab maps of the tenth century is the straightest of lines from Mekran to Cambay whilst the Arab historian-geographers describe a coastal stretch of salty waste from Debal to Cambay along which was a well recognised highway of travel but make no reference to Cutch till the eleventh century. And the later representation of Cutch as a few islets within a deepened bight that brings the mouths of the Indus up to the northern edge of Kathiawar is one that differs little from the written account of Al Idrisi.

A Golfe de Indus, Golfe D' India is in the seventeenth century maps the substitute for the Ran of Cutch ; in many a map this is bare of islands save those that in the very proximity of Tatha carry the alluvial coast of Sind further south ; in others the present islands of Cutch are missing on the western side of the Ran and in their place a row of islets fringe the eastern coast. And that eastern coast somewhat after the manner of Ptolemy's map includes Soreth and even Cutch, whilst south of the River Paddar a Kathiawar including part of the modern Cutch struggles between a desire to be an island and remain a peninsula. In yet further details this Ran is prolific of errors ; the rivers that flow into the Ran between Cambay and the Indus produce endless confusion and when the Indus is not confused with the Mahi or does not retain its own separate course, it is amalgamated with the Paddar and flows from north-east along the northern boundary of Kathiawar.

Futile and absurd, however, as most of these extravagances doubtless are, it is their survival up to the nineteenth century that is their strangest feature. Rennell in 1793 remarks in his Memoir that the Gulf of Cutch has been found less than and Kathiawar much larger than erstwhile supposed. Exact and true it is yet a strange comment upon two centuries of geographical knowledge. Up to the very end the maps that accompany editions of Sir Thomas Herbert and Mandelslo show Cutch and Kathiawar as a single island of queerest

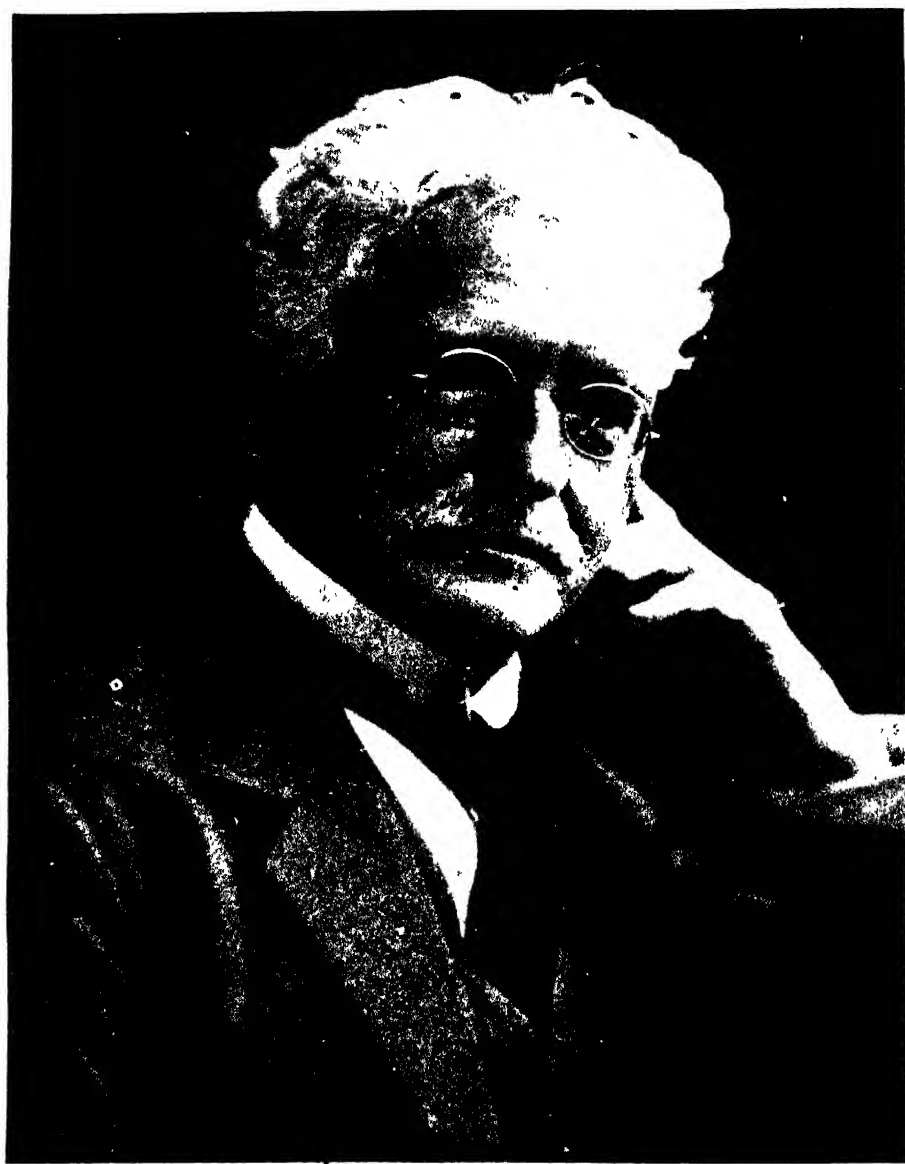
shape ; with native impartiality a single edition of Mandelslo shows in 1720 the Indus flowing due south into the Gulf of Cambay and again into the sea north of the peninsula of Kathiawar. And amid all these cartographical misrepresentations of the chief features of the Ran there run the absurdest locations of the ports and towns of the Indus valley which a distorted course of the river required ; an utter confusion of names duplicated at pleasure, a conjectural location of and even an amalgamation of others adds bewilderment to confusion and there is no theory of identity of the respective ports of the delta that cannot find cartographical evidence in its support.

In the history of error there is assuredly nothing more striking than the tardiness with which Europe gained even an approximately accurate idea of the main features of India. The Renaissance that added so largely to the knowledge of the world, that dissipated so many misconceptions of the cosmos and made for ever impossible a revival of the more obvious crudities of mediæval maps, worked its reformation with strange slowness in the correction of traditions as to the geography of western India.

Still in the seventeenth century Sir Thomas Herbert Fryer and Mandelslo can think of the western and eastern Ghats as a single ridge of mountains running as do the Appennines in Italy, from north to south of the peninsula ; Sir Thomas Herbert can still talk of the Caucasus on the bound of India and still describe the delta of the Indus through the medium of names dead since the time of Alexander. And even beyond this century run with unabated vigour the traditions that make the Indus flow into the gulf of Cambay, that make of Kathiawar an island and the whole coast from Makran to Cambay the delta of the Indus. And the cause of the major part of these errors the Ran retains in record the same features as the Arab accounts of the tenth century would give, and nearly those that Ptolemy would have rendered.

Strangest of all is the failure of Sir Thomas Roe and Pietro Della Valle to correct the maps of the delta; equally strange the rebuke given by Mandelslo to authors who wrongly placed the Indus twenty-four degrees from true confounding it with the river of Debal; the robbing from Sind of its ancient port and the facile repetition of traditions long since falsified by Hamilton when writing beyond the limit of his own experience.

J. ABBOTT



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TURKISH REMINISCENCES

I arrived in Constantinople in March, 1878, after a rough voyage down the Adriatic between Trieste and Corfu. The storm abated as soon as we came in sight of Corfu, and a few hours spent on that delightful island made one forget the experiences of the last two days. After leaving Corfu the steamer took us past the other Ionian islands, round Cape Martaban, wending its course through the narrow straits which separate the islands of Seriphos and Siphnos to make a short stop at Syra, a busy trade-centre built on a steep hill; from Syra the steamer made straight for the entrance to the Dardanelles. The ever-varying scenery makes this voyage an event of great interest and pure enjoyment equalled only by a voyage from Constantinople to Port Said past Imbros, Lemnos, Mytilini, Chios, Samos, Patmos, Cos and Rhodes and the many smaller islands which, one after the other, rise above the horizon to disappear some hours later below the blue waters of the Ægean Sea. To anyone versed in ancient Greek history the voyage from Constantinople to Port Said is of the highest interest, and the sight of Patmos calls to your mind the lonely figure of the great apostle of brotherly love and all-embracing humanism. Years afterwards I was vividly reminded of these scenes during a holiday trip from Rangoon to Moulmein along the coast of Tenasserim through the narrow straits which separate the islands of the Mergui Archipelago, with this difference that memories of ancient times were replaced by the effluvia given off by three species of Burmese fish carried by the steamer from Burma to the lands of the Malays, effluvia which haunted and hunted you from one end of the deck to the other and which, on the return journey were replaced by the equally haunting scent emitted by a cargo of dorians. I confess I prefer the purer atmosphere of the Mediterranean.

A few days after my arrival in Constantinople, having secured board and lodging at a boarding house kept by the widow of an Austrian officer and feeling somewhat tired after my first experience of a rough sea, one afternoon I was lying half-asleep on a couch, when suddenly I was nearly rolled off on to the floor, and jumping up I heard people shouting excitedly in the streets and from my window I saw them rushing out of their houses in a state of great panic. A severe earthquake, the first, but not the last in my experience! The earthquake did no great damage in Constantinople, but the town of Ismid and surrounding villages suffered terribly. The whole of the Egean region and the country stretching eastwards right through Asia Minor and Armenia is exposed at frequent intervals to severe earthquake shocks. One of my travelling companions on my voyage from Constantinople to Port Said related to me when passing the island of Chio that some years previously when in sight of that island most of the passengers on board his steamer were looking out in the direction of the town of Chio, when suddenly the place became enveloped in a dense cloud of dust, and when this cloud cleared away, the town was seen to be replaced by a heap of ruins. The loss of life is invariably exceedingly heavy.

When I arrived in Constantinople several powerful British men-of-war were anchored off the Princes' Islands, and the Russian army was still encamped in and around San Stefano. Russian officers were then a common sight in the streets of Pera, one of the suburbs on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, the suburb of shops, inns and café-chantants. The Russian armies had passed through hard and strenuous times on their advance from the Danube to the gates of Constantinople—the siege of Plevna, the defence of the Shipka Pass, the forcing of the snow- and ice-covered Etropol Pass, battles in Northern Bulgaria and Rumelia—; there had been few opportunities to spend the regular pay, and the general relaxation following the conclusion of the armistice of Adrianople

made the Russian officers inclined to have "a jolly good time." Swarms of human hawks of both sexes and belonging to various European and Asiatic, chiefly Mediterranean, nationalities gathered in San Stefano and Constantinople to fleece the conquerors, in the pursuit of which occupation they were evidently so successful that after a short time Russian officers became *parae ares* in the Grande Rue de Pera. Some of the male hawks were quite interesting personalities—provided you were not one of their victims—and their linguistic talents were really extraordinary: they seemed to be able to pick up a foreign language in a fortnight's time.

Constantinople is certainly one of the most picturesque capitals of the world. It vies in this respect with Naples, Lisbon, Stockholm and Rio de Janeiro. You might say of Constantinople something similar to what the Lazzarone says of his beloved Naples: "Vedi Napoli e muori." But to judge from Matilde Serrao's "Il Ventre di Napoli," the capital of Southern Italy bears a strong resemblance in its side-streets and lanes to the streets of Stambul, anyhow as they were forty years ago, when the chief scavengers of the town were the hundreds of thousands of Pariah dogs. Yet seen from various points of vantage—the towers of Galata and of the Seraskierat, the Princes' Islands, or the heights above Skutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, the sights are such as can never be forgotten. It is rather astonishing that in more peaceful times people travelling from India to England do not change steamers in Port Said to proceed to London *via* Constantinople, Vienna and Antwerp. It is, of course, not a journey to be taken by people who are pressed for time or invalids. After all, "Chaqu'on à son goût!"

One of the most charming experiences one can have is a trip on one of the local steamers which ply between Constantinople and Buyukderè. Here and in the neighbouring Therapia foreign embassies have their summer villas. The Bosphorus resembles a broad river whose clear waters run from

the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora. It is narrowest where the two old romantic castles—the Rumili Hissar and the Anadolu Hissar—face each other, themselves one of the sights of this most picturesque corner of the Earth. After passing them a most marvellous view unfolds itself gradually; there opens out in front of you the great town of Stambul with its mosques and their two, four or six slender minarets, crowning, most of them, the hills which border the southern shore of the Golden Horn, hills the flanks of which are densely crowded with innumerable houses, mostly built of wood. On the promontory which forms the eastern point of the broad triangular tongue of land on which Stambul, the ancient Byzantium, is situated, stands the ancient palace of the rulers of the former Byzantine Empire. The steamer takes you past numerous villages lining the shores of the Bosphorus as also some beautiful palaces, such as that of Dolma Baghè.

On an open maidan near Buyukderi stands an old tree of which local tradition has it that Geoffroy de Bouillon, the leader of the first crusade, fixed his tent under its wide-spreading branches. Past that ancient tree runs the path which leads through a beautiful oak forest to Belgrad, a village then inhabited by Bulgarian farmers. The forest with its splendid oaks forms a pleasing exception to the barrenness of many of the hills in many parts of European and Asiatic Turkey. Rational, not to speak of modern scientific, forestry did not form part of the programme of the Ottoman Government, much to the lasting detriment of the general fertility of a country of great promise and a great distant past. The forest of Belgrad owed its preservation to the fact that it feeds and protects the reservoirs which supply Stambul with its drinking-water, which reaches the town by means of an ancient, very massive aqueduct crossing the Golden Horn. If you are fond of lonely wanderings, you are able to indulge yourself by a day's excursion on foot to the shores of the Black Sea, to the point where rocks projecting out of the foaming waters mark

the northern end of the Bosphorus, and remind you of the Symplegades, the moving rocks which, according to the ancient myth, crushed every ship, boat, or living creature that attempted to pass in or out of the Black Sea, until Jason's Argo broke the spell. The Black Sea is not always black; when I visited the spot it was dark blue; a moderate breeze had thrown the surface into low foam-crested waves, and numerous sailing-vessels with large white sails were approaching, or receding from, the entrance to the Bosphorus. In spring some of the hill-sides are aglow with the large crimson flowers of an Anemone.

Favourite spots for picnics were "the Sweet Waters of Europe" beyond the western end of the Golden Horn, and "the Sweet Waters of Asia," a charming well-wooded spot not far from the eastern shore of the Bosphorus north of Skutari. Many a restful Sunday have I spent on the Island of Prinkipo, one of the Princes' Islands, where you can sit undisturbed on some secluded spot on a rock near the shore looking out on the beautifully blue waters of the Marmora Sea with the Gulf of Ismid stretching far to the east. in a northern direction on the mainland opposite, you see the large village of Kadikiö, mostly inhabited by Greeks; further to the left is Haidar Pasha with its large military barracks and beyond that the heights of Skutari, a typical Turkish town. Looking westwards you have a fine view of Stambul with its mosques and minarets and the coast-line sweeping onwards towards the Dardanelles, whilst on the south the panorama includes the shores of Bithynia, above which rise the ranges of hills culminating in the mountain mass, for many months covered in its upper reaches with snow, of the Bithynian Olymp, the Kesdish Dagh of the Osmanly, beyond the former Osmanly capital of Brusa.

For some time after the conclusion of peace and after the British men-of-war and the Russian armies had disappeared, many of the streets of Constantinople were very

unsafe after nightfall; numerous robberies and several murders were committed by Bashi-Bozuks—Turkish irregulars,—among whom the Zeybeks from south-western Asia Minor, the Kurds from the Lake of Van region, the Lazes from the shores of the Black Sea and other undesirable gentlemen took the palm. On the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus could be seen spotted about encampments of Moslems, former inhabitants of Bulgaria and other Balkan countries, who preferred finding and founding new homes in Asia Minor to remaining under Christian Governments. It is quite possible that many of them would have been much better off, if they had stayed behind in their old homes; such was certainly the case with those who had left Bosnia and the Herzegowina, where, after these countries had settled down into a peaceful life, the Austrian Governor protected every law-abiding citizen with absolute impartiality irrespective of creed, one can hardly say of nationality, because most of the Bosnian and Herzegowinian Mahomedans were Slavs by nationality. In a few years after the Austrian occupation the occupied countries became settled and prosperous, whilst before the Russo-Turkish war they had been the scene of bloodshed, and the Austrian Government had had to find shelter for, and feed nearly half a million of refugees. Although we thought it usually more prudent to avoid those encampments on the occasion of an excursion to the Asiatic side, the refugees were harmless notwithstanding their being really in a pitiful position, having left most of their possessions behind in their native country, whilst the Ottoman Government left them pretty well to their own devices.

After the lapse of several months the greater portion of the unruly element disappeared from the shores of the Bosphorus, and it was then tolerably safe to roam about on either side of the straits and botanize to one's heart's content, although for the sake of safety one usually carried a revolver on such excursions.

However, I have never had any occasion to use it in self-defence.

Just as in Calcutta, burglaries were not of rare occurrence. I am afraid the burglars were predominantly of Greek nationality. In those times a pernicious system was in existence under which the Turkish authorities were not permitted to try and punish a criminal belonging to another nationality. Consequently, if a scoundrel, usually professing some Christian faith, but a Turkish subject, wanted to transgress the law, he got himself naturalised at some consulate—usually the Greek consulate—and if he was caught red-handed, he had to be made over by the Ottoman police to the respective consulate, where he was sentenced and imprisoned to be discovered after a short time to have escaped. Conditions became so bad that—so at least the report went abroad—the various foreign governments gave the Turkish authorities permission to deal with the malefactors as they thought proper, and rumour had it that the Turkish government collected about five hundred of the worst miscreants and condemned them to exile in Tripoli. A Turkish man-of-war took them on board, and the captain reported on his return after about three months that they had all died during the voyage, which undoubtedly was true. Anyhow, the country had not to pay for their maintenance, and the method of dealing with confirmed criminals, though not modern, proved very effective.

Sometimes Turkish soldiers were suspected of having committed highway robberies. A very sad case of this kind occurred shortly before my visit to the village of Belgrad already referred to. The story was told me by a Bulgarian farmer at whose hospitable house I enjoyed a midday meal of bread, cheese and milk. About a fortnight before my visit a party of about a dozen farmers, among them a brother of my host, had gone to Stambul to sell country produce, and they had evidently left town with a good round sum of money between them. Night broke in and they had not returned. A search party

went out and found them not far from Belgrad, each one tied to a tree and disembowelled, of course all of them dead. The farmer took me to the Bulgarian cemetery and showed me his brother's fresh grave and those of the other farmers. A party of Turkish soldiers had been seen hovering about the forest and they were consequently suspected of having committed the awful crime.

This agrees with what an Armenian travelling companion told me on the road between Erzerum and Trebizond. We met with a party of soldiers who were out to capture some highway robbers, probably Lazes, who had been plying their pernicious trade in the neighbourhood. Nobody believed that the robbers would ever be caught and brought to justice. I enquired of my companion to what nationality the robbers in those parts of the world usually belonged. He replied that sometimes they were Lazes or Kurds; but more often they were parties of Turkish soldiers. But he added, "These are only small robbers; our biggest robbers are the pashas." I shall return to this subject later on.

In the year 1880 I had an opportunity of visiting Turkish Armenia. Austrian Lloyd steamers at that time visited at regular intervals the ports of Sinub, Samsun, Kerasun and Trebizond, all of them ancient Greek colonies and therefore well-known and highly interesting to students of ancient classics. The steamer kept all along close to the shore, which enabled one to have not only a good view of a large stretch of the northern coast of Anatolia, but also of the chains of mountains of the hinterland. I left the steamer in Trebizond and waited there, until I succeeded in discovering some travelling companions bound for Erzingian; because it was not considered safe to travel quite alone. One thing struck me during my short stay in Trebizond, and that was that certain words, especially verbs, common in classical Greek writings, but which have entirely disappeared from the colloquial Greek as spoken in Athens and Constantinople,

were still in common use in Trebizond, and it would certainly be an interesting task to investigate how much of the vocabulary of classical and post-classical Greek had succeeded in surviving in the ancient Greek colonies along the shores of the Black Sea and farther inland. The pronunciation, however, was similar to that in vogue in Constantinople, evidently indicating that the present pronunciation of Greek, so different from that taught in English and Continental Colleges, dates back from very old times.

After waiting for a couple of days in Trebizond I managed to pick up three travelling companions: a Turkish army surgeon and a Turkish and a Greek army apothecary. We decided to travel by the shortest way to Erzingian, making use mostly of bridle-paths across hills and dales. Our cavalcade presented, although equipped according to the custom of the country, a rather undignified appearance; one can always console one's self by the Socratic maxim: "What is useful is beautiful." This is how we did it and how everybody else in our situation would have done it.

Each of us hired a horse. Of course, the owner and two of his servants accompanied us on foot all the way. One's things, in my own case some clothes, books and drying-paper, were packed away in boxes of cedar wood; cedar wood is supposed to keep out insects; unfortunately, as I found to my cost in India, it does not deter white ants from eating their way through and fattening on the contents of the boxes; I thus lost nearly all my collection of plant specimens gathered round Constantinople and in Armenia. Anyhow, the insects of the Near East and their larvæ are not so voracious as those of the Tropics. Well, you suspend one box each by ropes passing over one of your quilts, spread on your horse's back, on either flank of the animal, put another quilt over the ropes and sit astride, with your legs dangling in front of the boxes on either side of the horse's neck. That has at least one advantage: when you are crossing one of the more or less

dried-up river-beds full of pebbles and other rock-fragments and the horse slips and comes down on the knees of its front legs, you can slide gracefully down over the horse's ears, and, provided you have practised gymnastics, you alight on your feet, no harm being done ; for the horse seems to manage things quite as skilfully. The ropes cause you some slight inconvenience at first, for they are apt to produce an impression on your personality. But the traveller in the farther Near East must be prepared to find pleasure and amusement in doing things as things are done in that part of the world,

Although the ascent from Trebizond to the crest of the first mountain range is through delightful forest land, the sides of the brooks making their way to the Black Sea being covered with luxuriant herbage, among which flowering salvias were specially prominent, the country further inland is nearly completely deforested, and the only trees one is permitted to set one's eyes on are fruit trees cultivated about villages. The hill-sides are not without vegetation, and you may feel yourself invited to sit down on what appears a soft plant cushion ; but you soon get up in undignified haste, for the cushion is a sort of pin-cushion with the points of the pins projecting outwards. In future you prefer to sit down on a block of stone in the middle of the road.

One day we were having, as usual, our midday's rest near a brook in which the water was hardly ankle-deep, when a thunderstorm suddenly overtook us. In a few minutes' time the rivulet had swollen to the dimensions of a small river, and to be able to take shelter in a mill, which stood on the opposite side, we had to wade nearly up to our hips through the rushing waters of the stream. But to have taken refuge in the mill did not mean that we had got on dry land. For the roof of the building consisted of broad and thick planks simply laid across the rather narrow space from side-wall to side-wall and loaded with heavy stones, leaving gaps between any two neighbouring planks, through which in fair

weather you could see the blue sky, whilst during a thunder-storm the room presented the appearance of a series of broad and thin cascades ; and to keep moderately dry you had to take aim and take your position exactly below the middle of a plank whilst the rain water poured down on either side of you. Fortunately the storm soon passed onwards in its course, and we continued our journey and, damp to the skin, we arrived before evening at a village inhabited by Osmanly Turks, where we found shelter in a fair-sized building, the residence of the most prominent inhabitant of the village. This house was partly one-storied, whilst the half which accommodated the *zenana* and the sleeping room of the men-folk boasted an upper story. We spread our bedding on the floor of the one-storied part of the building and after having been hospitably entertained by our courteous host, we went to sleep, which we had richly deserved after the day's adventures. But our troubles were not yet over. About midnight we were awakened by a fresh shower-bath : another thunderstorm ! Our host, however, rose to the occasion and invited us to occupy the men's room, whilst he himself retired to the ladies' apartment.

This episode reminds me of one of the most remarkable dwelling-places I have ever met with. It stood on one of the ridges which we crossed on our journey to Erzingian. About thirty feet long and eight or ten feet wide, it was constructed of roughly hewn blocks of rock placed one on top of the other with no mortar filling the joints, larger gaps being closed by chips of stone. The walls were about seven feet high, and across them were placed roughly trimmed beams, which in their turn were covered lengthwise by planks loaded with huge stones. One can easily imagine what the inside looked like during a rain squall or when the snow melted in the spring, and one shuddered to think what would be the fate of the inmates, men and cattle, as the result of an earthquake. Yet the only occupant of the remarkable

structure appeared quite unconcerned and happy. *What is to happen will happen !*

Another sight which often met the eye in these mountainous parts of Armenia was of houses built against steep hill-sides. That saves the expense of building a separate back-wall and serves also the purpose of allowing the flat roof of the house to be used as a threshing-floor, the operation of threshing being carried out very much in the manner practised in India. The sight of bullocks being driven round and round on the roofs of houses strikes the foreigner as something strange indeed. On the high-level plain of Erzingian an enterprising Frenchman had a few years before introduced a portable steam-driven threshing machine and his enterprise was soon rewarded by his being able to amass a small fortune. Here and there we passed villages inhabited by western Kurds. The scant shrubs were hung with streamers of coloured cloth, mostly only rags, the practice evidently having some religious significance. In these regions we may meet with Kizil-Bashes who do not abhor wine, who often practise baptism and whose women do not wear the yashmak or veil. Or you may come across settlements of Yeside or Shemsieh Kurds, who worship the "Peacock King" and venerate his "prime minister" Lucifer; yet notwithstanding their being "Devil worshippers," Europeans who have come in contact with them consider them as morally far superior to their Mahomedan and Christian neighbours.

Erzingian, an important town of Western Armenia, is situated near the centre of a wide plain several thousand feet above sea-level, traversed by the Kara Su, one of the two rivers which go to form the Euphrates, and surrounded on all sides by high hills. Its western half is inhabited by Armenians, the eastern half by Mahomedans, mostly Osmanlys, the dividing lines between the two communities being sharply cut. At the time of my visit Osmanlys and Armenians lived peacefully side by side and treated each other

with truly Oriental courtesy. One of the most interesting outings I had whilst making a stay of three weeks in the town; was into the mountains which stretch south of Erzingian towards Kharput.

When proceeding from Erzingian to Erzerum I had as my particular travelling companion a Turkish army surgeon, a pure Osmanly, who, poor fellow, had come all the way from Diarbekir to make a desperate attempt to get a whole year's pay in Erzerum, as the Diarbekir treasury was empty. He had had to sell practically everything, except a shirt and his military coat and trousers, to defray his travelling expenses. I left him behind in Erzerum hunting for his well-earned salary, but his efforts had evidently met with no success; for I met him again in Constantinople still hunting for his year's pay. The incident reminded me of a well-known Persian story. A Shah of Persia sat in his council chamber indulging in his favourite occupation propounding riddles to his courtiers. One of these riddles was: "What is that? It did not come last year, it does not come this year, it will not come next year." None of the courtiers succeeded in solving the riddle. Finally, one of the soldiers on guard asked permission to propound the solution. Permission was graciously given by the Shah. "That is my pay," the soldier said. The Shah was so pleased that he ordered five years' salary to be given to the one who had outshone all the courtiers in cleverness. The army-surgeon's case was only one of many thousands; only they were not as lucky as the Persian soldier.

After leaving Erzingian we slept the first night in a grove of fruit-trees near a farmstead; we were, however, awakened before sunrise by a drizzle of rain. The next night we were more lucky; for before evening we reached a large farm belonging to an Armenian gentleman, who had been educated in Paris and spoke French fluently and idiomatically. We, of course, talked politics, and our host expressed himself strongly in favour of autonomy, but energetically repudiated

the idea of Turkish Armenia being absorbed by Russia. After all there was probably not much to choose between the corrupt Turkish pasha and the corrupt Russian governor with all their crowd of corrupt subordinates.

Next day we fell in with a caravan consisting of Turks and Armenians, as well with a party of three consisting of two middle-aged Turks and a Circassian slave-girl. This girl, a great beauty of about twenty years of age, had grown up as a child in the harem of Sultan Abdul Aziz. After his deposition and suicide—or as it was expressed among Europeans in Constantinople, after he had been suicided—his harem was distributed among some of the then leading pashas and our companion had been assigned to the Governor of Sivas. The latter was probably in financial difficulties, and so he had sold the pretty slave-girl to a pasha in Erzerum, to which town she was being conducted. Secretly she expressed herself tired of these changes and hoped she would find a permanent home. Circassian parents often sold their daughters into Turkish harems, a thing which Kurd parents were never known to do.

On one of the following days we were unable to reach a village, and the caravan had to encamp on an open field. It was during the first half of September. The summits of the high hills to the north were already covered with snow, and a biting cold wind blew down from the snowy heights. Most of us roamed about the fields in search of dry sticks or some of the thorny brushwood to kindle a fire; our search was not very successful; the supply of fuel proved to be exceedingly scanty and our fires soon fizzled out. I shared my own quilts with my Turkish companion, who happened to fall a prey to an attack of malarial fever, of which I noticed several cases. Everyone was glad when, at about three o'clock in the morning, we could begin making preparations for the resumption of our journey and at four we could start on our way and try to get warm again by walking along at a brisk pace.

Late in the afternoon on the day before we reached Erzerum we arrived at a village—as far as I remember, its name was Yeni Kõi. As the name indicated the houses appeared to be newly built. The chief feature of the village was a hot sulphur spring surmounted by a fine wooden structure. The water was discharged into a capacious tank in which a number of our company took a welcome bath. The village was the farthest point to which the Russian army had penetrated in 1877. All the furniture of the bathing house and of the houses of the inhabitants together with the material of some of the houses themselves had been used as fire-wood by the Russians, who besides that had not dealt very gently with the villagers—all of them Osmanly Turks. A Christian was, therefore, not a welcome guest, and for some time my friend and I went from house to house asking for a shelter for the night. They were all ready to receive my companion, but did not want the *Firengi*. Ultimately one of the farmers consented to take us in. After that I was treated as a welcome guest; we had a plentiful evening meal and a clean clay floor to sleep on. In the morning we had a splendid breakfast consisting of wheaten bread and plenty of the best of milk, and before we left I gave the farmer what I considered a fair price for the food he had supplied—I do not think it was more than eight annas in Indian money—when our good host looked quite astonished, embraced me and said: “Brother, if you return this way, do not forget to pay me another visit.” It was not the eight annas that had produced the change in the Turkish gentleman’s attitude, but the newly gained knowledge that, although a Christian, I was a gentleman and neither a robber nor a loafer.

I stopped only a few days in Erzerum. Some of my adventures in that place I shall relate later on. I spent usually an hour or two in a coffee-house, which appeared to be the meeting place of a number of Persian merchants, and enjoyed listening to their conversation; for like Italians,

educated Persians do honour to their melodious language by pronouncing it in a way that not only gives themselves but also their audience infinite pleasure.

A broad highway, not kept in good repair, leads from Erzerum to Trebizond, but at least it permitted travelling in big, lumbering waggons, in which often six or eight persons found room, provided they were able to sleep sitting cross-legged. As I was not an expert in that way of taking my night's rest, I agreed to share a waggon with two Turkish and an Armenian merchant, all three of whom went on business to Constantinople. I usually preferred to sleep under the waggon and walked most part of the way. We fell in with a party of Armenians from the town of Mush, consisting of a high church dignitary, who went to pay an official visit to the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, and a crowd of hangers-on, most of them in torn garments, but evidently cleaner than many of the Armenians further west. I usually started in the morning half an hour before the others were ready, enjoying the cool, lonely morning walk. I was struck, however, by one of the Armenians from Mush, a man of about forty, following me closely, and accordingly asked him his purpose. He replied that it was not safe to go quite alone, as the road was often frequented by highway robbers and my revolver would be no match against the rifles with which the miscreants were usually armed. It was safer to wander in pairs, as that probably indicated that more were coming behind. After that we two became inseparable, until we reached Trebizond.

One of the party from Mush was a young innocuous madman. As long as the road lay between bare, barren hills, he had not much to say for himself; but after we had climbed up the last ridge from which one gets a first glimpse of the Black Sea and from where the descent is through a beautiful forest, he, evidently reminded of his home-land, began to dance and he sung an extempore song in praise of the charming

forest trees. It was some miles east of this point where the Greek mercenaries under Xenophon, after their arduous march of retreat, following the battle of Kunaxa, greeted the sea with their enthusiastic shouts of "Thalassa, thalassa!"

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I returned to Constantinople on board of a French steamer.

In 1880 the total population of Constantinople, including its suburbs, was estimated to be at least one million, of whom about 50 to 60 per cent. consisted of Mahomedan subjects of the Sultan; mostly Osmanly Turks; the number of Greeks amounted to more than three hundred thousand; Armenians and Jews, both Spanish Jews whose forefathers had fled from the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition and accepted the asylum offered to them by a Sultan of Turkey, as also Jews who in large numbers had emigrated from Southern Russia and Rumania, formed a far from negligible portion of the population; more than twenty thousand Italians and at least ten thousand Dalmatian and Montenegrin Slavs were congregated chiefly in the suburbs of Pera and Galata. In the large Austrian School you could meet children whose home-language might be Armenian, Greek, Italian, French, German, Serbian, Bulgarian Rumanian, Polish, Yiddish and German. You could also amuse yourselves for hours together by taking up a position in a recess on the broad bridge leading across the Golden Horn from Galata to Stambul watching the passers-by in their various garbs and catching fragments of at least twenty different languages. Most of the children had a speaking acquaintance with Greek, Turkish, Italian and probably two or three other languages in addition. No wonder that the linguistic faculties of many children growing up in towns like Constantinople are developed to a remarkable degree.

A mistaken notion, the expression of which I have often come across even in India, is that every Osmanly is a polygamist. That is far from being true: in fact, monogamy is

the rule among the Osmanlys of Asia Minor. Economic conditions would already work powerfully against generally prevailing polygamy, and the latter system is predominantly found only among pashas and other higher officials, the majority of whom, after all, are not of pure Osmanly descent. There is a town in Asia Minor, the Moslim inhabitants of which were proud of having not a single polygamist among them.

In his family the Osmanly exhibits invariably feelings of kindness and justice, and he is more faithful to his marriage ties than many a member of western and farther eastern communities. In her home the wife is absolute mistress and is invariably treated with kindness by her husband, and the children appear to be a happy crowd. The natural kindliness of the Osmanly extends to his domestic animals, and sights so commonly seen in the streets of Calcutta never offend the eyes of a traveller in Asia Minor and Turkish Armenia; in some of the districts asses are allowed two days of rest every week.

Let us now ask what were the causes of the downfall of an empire that a few hundred years ago was a terror to its neighbours and the splendour of which evoked the admiration and envy of foreign nations.

In the first place, it was an empire founded on the might of the sword, an empire built up of the most heterogeneous elements, an empire which for this very reason would have required the most consummate statesmanship to be knit together into an organic whole. And is it at all likely that even the most skilful statesman would have been able to attain this end? The task would have been superhuman. We only need think of the differences in creed: Sunnites and Shiites; Roman, Greek and Armenian Catholics; Christians, Nestorians and Jews! And the differences in nationalities: Osmanlys, Kurds, Lazes, Arabs, Kopts, Berbers, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Albanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Rumanians,

to which of older times we may add Magyars, Szeklers, Ruthenians, Germans and others. Most of these nationalities had had a history of their own, before they became subjects of the Sublime Porte, a history of which some of them could be justly proud. It was an absolute impossibility to keep them all in a position of political inferiority, especially as the dominant nation was numerically inferior.

It was a pity that Sultan Abdul Hamid did not take the trouble of visiting different parts of his large empire. A tour like the tour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, might have done wonders and certainly would have opened the eyes of the Sultan. Instead of that he hardly ever left the precincts of his palace, you might say his walled castle, the Yildiz Kiosk, built on a prominent hill in the vicinity of Pera. Once a year he came down to offer prayers at the Mosque at Dolma Bagchè on the shores of the Bosphorus. I remember having seen him on one of these occasions, a broad-shouldered man of medium height and stooping gait. In Yildiz Kiosk he was surrounded by men, most of them not of true Osmanly stock and certainly, at least the majority of them, not of high moral principles. Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed in 1876 and supposed to have committed suicide. His successor Sultan Murad, after exactly three months' reign, was declared to be insane and interned in the palace at Dolma Bagchè; the rumour went about that he had been drugged. He was followed by his brother, the well-known Sultan Abdul Hamid. I remember how, one morning, we were startled by the sound of firing, and we heard afterwards that the Principal of the Military Academy had conspired with certain other malcontents to liberate Sultan Murad and replace Sultan Abdul Hamid. The leader of the revolt and several of his adherents were killed and Sultan Murad was removed to a safer place. He died in 1909. Sultan Abdul Hamid managed to continue ruling the Turkish

Empire from the precincts of the Yildiz Kiosk for thirty-three years. He died in 1916.

But the main cause of the downfall of the Ottoman power was the absence of a sound financial system of administration. The curse of the country was the farming-out of taxes. This system helped to bring on the great French Revolution; it is this system which has been the main cause of the weakness of the Ottoman Empire in its later stages. I shall illustrate the effects of this pernicious system by an account of some personal experiences.

Forty years ago the tax-farmers, at least those of Armenia and Asia Minor, were Armenians; so were the majority of the Custom House officials. One of the acquaintances I made in Armenia was one of those tax-farmers, just then out of a job.

This is what he told me. The appointment was one for two years. To obtain it you had heavily to bribe the pasha at whose disposal the appointment happened to be. Having been lucky enough to secure the appointment in face of considerable competition you had to be careful to send to the treasury sufficient amounts of money to pay the higher officials. Beyond that you had to remember that you had to recover the capital spent in bribes, you and your family had to live, and as you were not likely to obtain a similar job after the lapse of two years, you had to lay money by to tide you over a couple of lean years and to have the necessary means to bribe the officials again. For you might be sure that the former officials who knew of your delinquencies were gone and far away. Of course you were urged, whilst in office, to send in the full amount of the taxes which it was your duty to collect. But you explained that you really had no powers to force the people to pay the taxes due from them, the more so as most of the farmers were Mahomedans, particularly Osmanly Turks. Poor Osmanly farmers! It was not they, but their Christian brethren who knew how to get out of paying their legitimate dues.

The result was that the lower officials and the rank and file of the army were paid most irregularly. They could think themselves lucky, if their pay was not in arrears for more than four months. It was an event of common occurrence for lower officials or soldiers to go in vain to the local treasury for payment of their salary month after month, until finally a treasury official took pity on the applicant and offered him half the sum due to him on the latter granting a receipt for the full amount. Something is better than nothing!

As regiments were constantly shifted from one province to another, say from Macedonia to Armenia, or from Yemen to Upper Mesopotamia, it was a common practice for officers and soldiers to leave their wives and families behind in larger towns, especially in Constantinople, and to arrange that half their pay was to be paid to their womenfolk. The men could get along somehow; for they received at least their rations; but what about the poor women and children? A characteristic incident happened, whilst I was in Constantinople. The soldiers' wives had not received their shares for several months. At the time Osman Pasha of Plevna came was Minister of War. One day several hundred women gathered together, went in procession to the Seraskierat, the War Office, and tore their veils in token of their distress. The Sultan heard of what had occurred and ordered the women to be paid. Osman Pasha was dismissed. But could he help the coffers being empty? The Russo-Turkish war had exhausted the Treasury, and financial chaos reigned supreme. The Sultan himself was not much better off. One fine morning we heard that the butchers and bakers who furnished the Sultan's household had stopped supply; they were owed a large sum of money; of course, their bill was probably twice the amount of what was really due to them; but to get their real dues, suppliers commonly doubled or even trebled the amount of their bills.

To crown the chain of misfortunes, the coins in circulation depreciated in value month by month, if not even week

by week. The real standard was the *livre turque*, a gold coin about the equivalent of twenty francs. That consisted of high-carat gold, and if you were paid in that coin you were all right. A *livre turque* was the equivalent of one hundred piastres in gold. That at least was the standard. In 1878 the current coins were the medshidyè, a good silver coin, five of which should have been the equivalent of one *livre turque*; in reality its value in gold was somewhat less; one hundred ten medshidyè piastres were about the equivalent of one hundred piastres in gold. That rate remained pretty constant for several years. The next kind of coin was the *métallique*, silver coins with a considerable percentage of copper in it, as their colour showed. In 1878 one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty *métallique* piastres were the equivalent of one *livre turque*. Then came the copper coins of which one hundred and fifty were equal to hundred gold piastres. Finally there was the paper money, of which two hundred and odd were got for one *livre turque*. One fine morning a public announcement appeared decreeing that from that date a *livre turque*, that is hundred piastres in gold, were to be equivalent to two hundred and twenty piastres in *métallique*, that is to say that the purchasing value of the *métallique* was to be depreciated by nearly fifty per cent. What did that mean? If in Asiatic Turkey, and therefore also all through Asia Minor, Government had yesterday paid in salaries the equivalent of say ten pounds Turkish in *métallique*, that is thirteen hundred piastres *métallique*, it continued to pay thirteen hundred piastres *métallique*; but if one had to pay the equivalent of ten pounds in *métallique* to Government, one paid two thousand two hundred piastres *métallique*. In other words, your painfully gathered savings were at one stroke reduced in value by nearly fifty per cent. That is Political Economy with a vengeance. And who were the chief sufferers? The Osmanly Turks and other Moslim subjects of the Sultan. A short time afterwards you could get

seven hundred copper piastres and more than two thousand paper piastres for a *lire turque*, with the result that everybody refused to handle copper coins and paper money. Countries which are on a financially downward path usually endeavour to keep themselves afloat by borrowing from other countries at rates of interest which become more and more of the cut-throat variety, the result being that the countries concerned are plunged deeper and deeper into the financial mire, and the loss of financial independence drags after it the loss of political independence. The fate of Egypt is a warning example.

Whilst in Constantinople I became intimately acquainted with a Turkish army doctor and his family. They were German Transylvanians. The doctor had, a number of years previously, accepted an offer of service as a medical officer in the Turkish army. For a considerable length of time he had served in Armenia, from where he had been transferred to Bosnia. He had established a lucrative practice among the well-to-do landowners, so that it did not much matter to him whether he got his salary to-day or a year hence. Then came the Austrian occupation, and our doctor removed to Constantinople, where, however, the town was swarming with Greek, Armenian and Western European medical practitioners. He was ultimately transferred with a regiment to Thessaly. As usually in such cases he made arrangements with the financial authorities to have twenty pound Turkish paid every month to his wife. The bill was duly presented at the treasury. Of course, payment was withheld. About a month afterwards a *dshaush* (an army sergeant) made his appearance to enquire whether the lady "was really the wife of the doctor." Well, after looking at her he was satisfied that she was really the wife of the medical man in question. How he came to that conviction nobody, not even himself, could have told. Anyhow, he carried away a *medshidyè* as *bakhshish*. About three weeks later another army sergeant appeared on the scene to

enquire whether the lady was really the wife of the doctor. The same comedy, the last scene of which was the presentation of a *medshidyè*. A month further on the lady had the honour of a visit from the Kazi, the judge, of the respective quarter of the town, who very courteously enquired whether she was really the wife of the doctor in question. This time the *bakhshish* was two *medshidyè*. After that there came a period of suspense. Partly to assist my friends, partly out of curiosity, I undertook to try my hand at extracting the money due from the Turkish Treasury and thus commenced my expeditions to the *Seraskierat*.

I presented the document directing the monthly payment at one of the numerous office rooms. I was directed to a second, from there to a third and to a fourth room, and finally arrived at the room occupied by a colonel, who was good enough to have a strip of paper with some Turkish inscriptions on it attached to the original document and to request me to come again a week hence. I made my appearance on the appointed day, but was told : “*yaryn gel*” : come to-morrow. I returned the next day to be told that it was “the women’s day,” and I better come again on a certain day next week. I did so. Then commenced a round through a number of office rooms in each of which further strips of papers were glued to the original document ; this farce continued for about two months, until the successive *chits* formed a long tail like the tail of a paper kite. I finally had to give up the chase, but heard subsequently that the lady had been told that the case had been referred to the Army Command in Thessaly, as it was of the greatest importance to ascertain whether the lady concerned was really the wife of the doctor in question. This gentleman was afterwards transferred to Armenia, where I paid him the visit already described. I inquired of him what had become of the money due to him. “Oh,” he replied, “the Pasha of Erzerum is a good friend of mine, and he ordered the money to be paid by

the Erzerum treasury, which was done, without the treasury taking a receipt." If the doctor had not been an honest man, he might have drawn the money again from the Stambul treasury. Yet, perhaps, it might not have been worth the trouble.

Now, what was the result of this terrible financial mismanagement? Bribery and corruption, intensified by unending intrigues.

In Constantinople I made the acquaintance of a very interesting personality, a German-Austrian by birth. Whilst a student in the Oriental Academy of Vienna, this institution was frequently visited by a well-known Turkish high official, who just then was living in exile. The Pasha took a great fancy to the young Austrian and when he himself was recalled to Constantinople (if I remember right, he became Grand Vizir), he persuaded the student to accompany him with a view to entering the Turkish service. In Constantinople he was put in charge of an educated army sergeant who, it is true, proved a hard task master, but succeeded in thoroughly initiating the young man into all the intricacies of Turkish official correspondence and official etiquette. The reward was a post in the state service. But it soon became apparent that there were no prospects in the service for a Christian. So he became a convert to Islam and married the daughter of a Turkish colonel. I heard a good deal from him about the inner life of a Turkish family belonging to his stratum of society. This was in addition to what I had already heard from an elderly Austrian lady, a relative of the famous Omar Pasha.

At the time of the First Turkish Parliament my friend was one of the elected deputies and, of course, joined the Reform Party. The life of this Parliament was not of long duration, and one fine day it was dissolved. The members of the Reform Party declared that they would only yield to force, in consequence of which they were conducted outside

the council chamber by a party of soldiers. Early next morning they were awakened by a sergeant and marched off to a steamer. My friend was exiled to Jerusalem, where he soon became the Secretary to the Governor. As he declared, that was a time of golden opportunities, in the literal sense of the words. The pagoda trees were the high Christian Church Dignitaries, who were always at logger-heads. Some day Dignitary X came to the Secretary requesting him to place a petition before His Excellency the Governor as early as possible. Of course, the Secretary declared himself most ready to oblige Dignitary X, who did not expect the service for nothing. The something was twenty *lirres turques*, real *lirres turques*. Next day Dignitary Y made his appearance, hinting that he had heard that X had presented a petition directed against Y and suggesting that the welfare of the Government could be safeguarded by the petition referred to being pigeon-holed for at least a week. Of course, the Secretary declared himself ready to oblige Dignitary Y, and his reward was another twenty *lirres turques*. Similar occurrences were frequent and when my friend returned to Constantinople he did so with a good round sum of money in good sound Turkish coins in his coffers. Unfortunately he bought some house property in Stambul with the proceeds of his Jerusalem adventures, and as so frequently happens, he lost nearly everything in one of the frequent devastating conflagrations. Indeed, one of the cries one never forgets is the cry of the night-watchmen: "yangyn war": there is a fire. You rush to the window and find the sky aglow, usually in the direction of Stambul. Another two or three hundred of the wooden houses burnt to ashes!

Well, our exiles all returned to head-quarters without waiting for the annulment of the decree which had sent them into banishment. A friendly pasha, one of the ministers, procured for my acquaintance—he had assumed the name of

Osman Effendi—another and rather lucrative appointment. But some time afterwards one of the ministers—if I remember right, it was the Minister of War—was assassinated by a Cherkessian officer out of private revenge, which led to the downfall of the whole of the Cabinet and to the regulation sequel—the dismissal of all the higher officials who had received their appointments during the life-time of that ministry. Thus it came to pass that Osman Effendi had to earn his livelihood by private lessons. Shortly before I left Constantinople, he had the good fortune of being appointed Secretary to the Pasha of Tripoli. He told me he had no intentions to invest his future savings in house property.

I have mentioned intrigues. If an official of high position wanted to be appointed, say, to a governorship, he had to intrigue in the capital against the actual occupant of the post; he had to intrigue and he had to bribe heavily. Assuming him to have been successful, he had to take his harem together with a large retinue along with him to his new place of residence, which, perhaps, was hundreds of miles distant, often along bad roads; for the only railway in that part—probably in any part of Asiatic Turkey—was then the railway from Haidar Pasha to Ismid. In my travels I met once with such an official caravan: it was an interesting and instructive sight. Now, as soon as our pasha had turned his back on Constantinople to join his appointment, some other pasha, just then out of a job, began to intrigue, and his rival knew that his appointment was hardly more than a temporary one. It was due to his status that he had to keep open house and open table. His ordinary expenses ran high and he had to lay by a good round sum for an evil day, which was sure to arrive sooner or later. No wonder my poor Armenian companion said: "Our pashas are our greatest robbers." Those frequent shiftings of higher officials were a heavy burden on the ordinary inhabitants of the country, whether Christian or Mahomedan, chiefly Mahomedan.

When passing in and out of Erzerum one was supposed to pay octroi on a variety of articles. Consequently when I and my Turkish companions passed through the western gate of the town, we were met by an official who demanded to know what I had in my two wooden boxes. I declared truthfully that I had nothing but some clothes, books and dried plants. We knew of course that the good gentleman was only angling for some *bakhshish*. But wanting to make a little experiment, I rode steadily on declaring that I had nothing dutiable in my boxes. He followed to the hân, but firmly declared that I must accompany him to the Custom House. My companion suggested that it would be wiser to give the official a small sum as a *bakhshish*. For I certainly would not get my boxes examined at once; the next day was a Mahomedan festival and no business would be done; very likely the day after nobody would feel inclined to attend to me, and if finally the examination did take place, the contents of the boxes would be strewed over the floor and there would be no end of trouble over the matter. I followed the counsel of wisdom and bought the octroi collector's good will for the magnificent sum of about four annas in Indian coin. When leaving Erzerum, sitting in the big waggon already referred to together with my three companions, just before we reached the well-known gate, the elderly Turkish merchant asked each of us three others to hand over to him twenty piastres each, which was promptly done. Near the gate my former acquaintance, the octroi collector, made his appearance, *salaming* obsequiously, and inquiring about the health of my companions and their families. Having received satisfactory answers and our joint contribution, he moved off to the next waggon, where the same farce was enacted, whilst we proceeded on our journey. Anyhow, the octroi collector was enabled to live, but the Municipality of Erzerum was not any the richer.

After my return to Trebizond, I was anxious to get on board a French steamer, which was just about to start for Constantinople, and I therefore made straight for a boat which was waiting for passengers at the landing stage. As expected, I was intercepted by a ragged custom house official, who suggested my accompanying him to the Custom House. I declared again truthfully that I had nothing dutiable in my boxes. Of course, I guessed what he was out for. We were soon surrounded by a small crowd of interested spectators, one of whom finally said to me: Please, give him a *bakhshish*; he has not got his pay for six months. The official certainly looked a picture of misery, and a present of ten piastres saved me further trouble and filled the poor fellow's soul with gratitude and momentary happiness.

More amusing was an incident which happened when I left Constantinople for good. My boxes had been scientifically packed by some lady friends, the contents being, as usually, clothes, books and dried plant specimens, and I did not look forward with equanimity to what might happen, if the boxes were opened in the Custom House. My Montenegrin servant solved the difficulty by asking me for a *medshidyè* and suggesting to proceed straight to the steamer. At the Galata landing stage we engaged a boat to take us to the Austrian Lloyd steamer bound outward for Port Said, Jeddah, Aden, Bombay and farther east. We were intercepted by a Custom Boat containing two officials. The senior of the two remarked that we ought to have passed through the Custom House, but we suggested that that was hardly necessary, as there was nothing dutiable in my boxes. Then followed a friendly conversation, during which my servant showed the gentleman the silver coin. At first the senior official made a violent gesture—as a matter of fact, he did not want his companion to know what my contribution to their happiness was to be—but after some further delay, a bright thought seemed to have flashed through his mind and he suddenly

remarked : “ You say, you have really nothing dutiable in these boxes.” “ Absolutely nothing,” my servant replied. “ Then let me feel !” And he carefully felt the outside of one box until his hand had got to the farther side, where the silver coin was slipped into his hand, and he exclaimed in a tone of firm conviction : “ No, there is nothing dutiable in these boxes.” Well, as he really spoke the truth, the Ottoman Government was none the poorer, and two officials, who probably had received no pay for several months past, were at least enabled to provide themselves and their families with a meal. I wonder whether we have equally clever Custom Officials in Calcutta who can ascertain the contents of a box by feeling the outside of it !

The demoralising influence of the insecurity of tenure of office and of the irregularity in the payment of salaries is well expressed in the Turkish proverb : “ Everyone is honest until he becomes a ‘ dshoush.’ ” a sergeant, the lowest rung in the ladder of Turkish officialdom.

The name “ Turk ” is rather misleading. Foreigners apply it usually indiscriminately to every Musulman of the Turkish Empire, especially the sedentary Mahomedans of Asia Minor. Even then they may be Albanians settled against their will in the peninsula ; they may be Musulman Bosnians and Bulgarians emigrated from their native countries : they may be Arabs and even Negroes or their descendants, the negroes imported by slave dealers from different parts of Africa. Then there are converts to Islam of Westerners, like the Magyar Omar Pasha, well-known during the times of the Crimean war, or Mehmed Ali Pasha, for some time chief commander of the Turkish army in Bulgaria during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 and 1878, who belonged to a Huguenot family residing in Magdeburg, and who as a boy ran away from home and found his way to Constantinople. You have further the numerous offsprings of Georgian and Circassian women who were inmates of the harems of Turkish grandees, who

themselves were often the descendants of captives, members of various nations of Central and Southern Europe. It is just these international mixtures whom you meet among the pashas, beys and effendis and who in their very homes become initiated into the subtleties of intrigue. The real Osmanlys scorn the name of Turk, although when pure they are predominantly of Turki or Turkoman stock. Even then they have mixed in the course of centuries with the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Asia Minor. They are rather of a swarthy complexion, possessed of great muscular power, somewhat heavy and slow, and distinguished from their neighbours, Greeks, Armenians, Persians and Syrians, by their honesty, truthfulness and uprightness. They are hospitable, dignified, courteous and essentially tolerant. They are invariably clean in their habits, and in this respect differ markedly from some of their Christian neighbours. You will never witness the counterpart of the "Madras Hunt" on their doorsteps, as you have an opportunity every warm weather morning in the Christian quarters of Eastern Asia Minor. Indeed when once during my travels I felt rather doubtful whether I should associate myself with a young Christian : my Turkish friend, after due inquiry, reported that the lad was employed in the business of a big Osmanly merchant of Erzerum, which was a sufficient certificate for his bodily cleanliness. The Osmanly, from extensive experience, has no very high opinion of the honesty and truthfulness of his Christian neighbours, as is apparent from some of his proverbs. He may state the matter in a somewhat exaggerated form, but there is doubtless some truth in the statements. One of the proverbs is: "Nine Jews make one Greek, nine Greeks make one Armenian." Or: "If you wish to succeed in business, trust the Christian to one-tenth, the Osmanly to tenfold his income." Moreover, Greeks and Armenians have fully realised the value of education, whilst a large proportion of the Osmanlys are illiterate. The latter fact may be largely due to the written Turkish language,

in the words of Fu'ad Effendi in his grammar of the Osmanly language, being composed of Arabic, Persian and Turkish, not only as regards its vocabulary, but also its grammar and phraseology. Nor does the Arabic script suit the genius of the unadulterated Turkish language, which in sound and lucidity of grammar is one of the most beautiful and perfect of the spoken languages. A well-known Bulgarian educationist and politician instituted, during the first Balkan war, detailed inquiries into the comparative literacy of Bulgarian and Turkish wounded soldiers in Rumelian hospitals, and ascertained that, whilst nearly hundred per cent. of the Bulgarians were literate, about ninety per cent. of the Turkish wounded soldiers were illiterate.

In contradistinction to the clever and alert Greek, the Osmanly dislikes hurry. "Haste is of the Devil; patience is God's."

Of his Christian neighbours the one that comes nearest to the real Osmanly in honesty and sturdiness of character is the Bulgar, of whom I was able to form a very favourable opinion.

I have met no educated European who has come in more intimate contact with the real Osmanly, who has not spoken in very favourable terms of his essential characteristics. He has all the making of a model citizen, if only he were blessed with a sane, honest and orderly government. That implies first and foremost the introduction of a sound financial system and the gradual wiping out of state indebtedness. Considering that the Turkish Empire has been dismembered as the result of the Great War, the Turkish Government must not be asked in all justice to pay a war indemnity. Whether the Young Turkish party will be able or would have been able to build up a new and flourishing Turkey may be somewhat doubtful; but it may be said that they have not had a fair trial. Before order could be introduced into the distracted administration after the deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid, Italy, on flimsy grounds, forced the Tripolitan war on Turkey,

and this war so weakened the Ottoman Empire that the Balkan States found Turkey a comparatively easy prey. It is undoubtedly true that the Young Turkish movement brought a great amount of froth to the surface as revolutionary movements are apt to do; indeed, accounts of it by impartial witnesses reminded me vividly of Turgenev's great novel "Smoke." Let us hope that the real Osmanly may have a bright future before him which may compensate him for the dismal present.

P. BRÜHL

VENGEANCE IS MINE

CHAPTER XV

TORN WITH DOUBTS

“Champa,” said Jasubha with a yawn, “you are getting changed every day.”

“Why?”

“You are now pretending to be good and virtuous.”

“How did you know that?”

“Then why is it that you have grown less negligent in your ways since you came to stay upstairs?”

Champa sighed inaudibly. Something not to be expressed in words was weighing upon her mind. The habitual desire to please—natural to a dancing girl—seemed to be going out of her nature. With great effort she restrained her thoughts, which were beginning to go deep, and gained power over her mental faculties. When she had appeared careless and thoughtless Jasubha was deeply concerned to keep her near himself; but now that the new-born hopes and yearnings of Champa's heart urged her to stay in this place, her new-born gravity had begun to weary Jasubha. He had not, however, shaken himself quite free from her charms, and Champa thought it wise to maintain the mastery of what powers were yet left to her to please.

“What else could I do? You were once displeased with my indifferent carelessness. Now when I am improving it is still my misfortune to annoy you. Better a crust of bread than the service of a Prince!”

“Shall I arrange for a crust of bread for you from to-morrow?”

“Then you mean to say that I should serve here on a crust of bread and combine both the evils,” said Champa

with forced gaiety. "If such be your wish I and my pet bird will both fly away."

"Who is your pet bird?"

"Don't you know? Ranubha. Do you think he can remain here and I away."

"He can never leave me."

"That we shall see when the time comes," retorted Champa.

Just then Ranubha happened to pass by the door and Jasubha saw him.

"Ranu."

"Sir?"

"Have the new novels arrived by to-day's mail?"

"Yes, sir. I have just opened the packet and left it on your table."

"Very good. Now, Champa, I am going. Ranubha, take care that you and Champa do not run away together."

Ranubha smiled a little. Champa wanted to smile but a clash as of sandals upon the marble floor in the distance fell upon her ears. Her heart began to beat faster, the smile left her lips. Jasubha had gone, but he stopped after a few steps and shouted to Ranubha.

"Ranu, just come down. I want you." Ranubha was not over-pleased to leave Champa's company, but he obeyed the order. He glanced back meaningly at Champa; he wanted her to receive Anantanand properly in case he was delayed downstairs. Jasubha and Ranubha then walked away.

Champa stood still. Her heart was in the study of Ranubha; her mind's eye was taking in every line of a glorious human shape sitting there in regal dignity: her body yearned to rush into that sanctum and to fall at the feet of her god. But the doubts, the bashfulness and the fears of a loving heart prevented her. After waiting for a whole life-time, when the moment arrives to reach the goal of our longings, at that very moment the heart turns traitor and our feet refuse

to move. Who has not experienced this strange paradox of the human mind. Champa used to hide and stealthily watch Anantanand. When many were present she used to sit in a corner and secretly cast her burning glances upon his radiant face. In the deepest depths of her heart—where the light of clear thought could scarce penetrate—there was rising like a flood an intense longing to meet him face to face, to do and to say—what she scarce could have put in words, even to herself. But the waves of that rising tide subsided where they had arisen. All selfish thoughts perished before the superhuman calm dignity of Anantanand. The idols of many a heart have feet of clay. But the image which Champa had set up for worship in her inmost heart and at whose feet she offered all her love, that image was outwardly unattainable, far beyond the hope even of approach ; and so it appeared a thousand times more divine. She trembled to think of the immeasurable distance between him and her own self and she despaired of ever attaining the dearest wish of her heart. This despair was to her a fire which consumed her more and more fiercely every day. From that point of view she regarded herself as among the lowest. She felt confused to find that the capricious self-will and the assurance of the dancing-girl were hers no longer. But these could not have survived under the circumstances. The new-born flood-tide in her inmost depths, which was called forth by the attraction of Heaven itself, had long since swept away such pretty obstacles erected to resist it. The heart of Champa had nothing to protect it against being completely submerged by that flood.

That day she had found after many days a chance to meet him alone. Should she take it ? What had best be done ? She started out with her thoughts in a whirl and proceeded with trembling footsteps. When she reached the door of Ranubha's apartments she was frightened. She turned back. Should she enter or should she not ? She might have needed an hour to decide, as her powers of collected thought were at

the lowest ebb just then. Suddenly Anantanand, who had been walking about the room, approached the door; he smiled to see Champa there.

“Well, Champa, how are you?”

She was now forced to decide to enter; but she hardly knew what she should do next.

“I am very well, sir, thanks,” said she as she entered. What more could she say? She was yearning to pour out her heart, but how could any words rise to her lips at all?

“Champa, you are getting changed every day.”

How strange! Two of them—Jasubha and Anantanand—had expressed their opinion of her in exactly the same words.

“How so?”

“There seems to be a little more of gravity in you now.”

Champa could not repress a sigh. But she tried to smile it away; “Gravity! Surely, I never possessed such a thing.”

The brilliant big eyes of Anantanand seemed to be brimming over with the nectar of divine love. Champa, mad with delight, was drinking up every drop of it.

“I have seen many people so far, and among them you seem to be the most unjust to yourself. But I have great hopes of you. You have kept your inmost self unsullied even in the low life you have led. That is not a small achievement. But develop the best that is in that self.”

“Maharaj! How can I? My fate throws in a thousand obstacles.”

“Remove those obstacles.”

“They are not to be removed, Swamiji, they cannot be removed,” some of the fire repressed within her heart burst forth. “You are of the Heaven, heavenly. You are super-human; but I am a low fallen creature. Sometimes I feel as if I could throw away life itself.”

“Why this despair?” The loving, tender words of the holy man were as cooling water on her burning heart. “But this, too, is a good sign. Till now you were under a delusion

and your true self had been, as it were, frozen under its influence. Now the ice is melting and the river issuing therefrom shall carry you onwards. The fire burning within you will melt this frozen mass. To root out *lamas*, the frozen ice of ignorance and delusion, you need *rajas*, the fire of passionate emotions. Be not afraid: the fire of despair and self-mortification that surrounds you now will blaze a way through all the barriers around you and light you upon your path. It is only by falling into the fire that you shall learn to find the way out."

Champa's heart wanted to utter many things. She was mad with joy to know that Anantanand cared so much for her. She wanted to lay bare her heart before him, to tell him everything she felt: but there was a certain unapproachable grandeur in his words, she felt such an immeasurable distance intervening between herself and his greatness, that words died upon her lips. We may admire—almost involuntarily—the calm icy grandeur of Gaurishankar¹ and other mighty, sky-kissing Himalayan peaks; but to ward off the heat of the sun we put tiles upon our roofs, not the Himalayas.

"Heaven knows when I shall find my way out. At present I can see none."

"You certainly shall see the way."

At this moment Raghubhai walked in. He had been back at his work some time. He had already sent messages to the Swamiji once or twice, but this was the first time since his return from Durgapur that he met him. As he came in he saw the two alone, deep in conversation and his face mantled over with smiles. He still remembered his experience with Gunavanti, and as he had no other standard of measurement in this world but that of his own wicked heart, he measured the Swamiji accordingly and thought he had discovered him in a new rôle. He now felt sure that the Swamiji's

thoughts could not be beyond his grasp. Now that he had penetrated to the heart the mystery surrounding him, this Bawaji would no longer be able to decline him.

"Well, Maharaj, I hope I find you in the best of health," he asked with great politeness.

The Swamiji's face changed. A moment ago it was glowing with the tenderness of an affectionate father but now there were a hardness and a proud aloofness plainly visible instead. Raghubhai felt a deeper hatred as he noted this change. "How glad I would be to see this pride humbled," thought he.

"Well. You had gone for a change, I heard, but you have come back weaker in health than you were before."

"That is why I returned. I could not bear these long journeys."

"By the way, Raghubhai, why do you pester Ramkisan-dasji so much?"

"Oh, please don't mention that fellow to me, Maharaj. He is such an incorrigible rogue. It would be a good thing if such ochre-robed scoundrels were exiled beyond the borders of the State."

"Raghubhai, do not forget that I too wear ochre robes."

"Oh, but you—"

"And remember too that before you can exile Ramkisan-dasji you shall have to send out a great many more."

Raghubhai bit his lips. His game always went wrong with this man. He thought that if he continued to be merely content to dance to Anantanand's tune, he would never reach his goal.

"That is *your* opinion. But I will fight him to the finish. Each of us has his own desire and mine is to show to Ramkisan-das his proper place."

Raghubhai had intended to frighten Anantanand with these words, but the attempt was a distinct failure. Anantanand turned his eyes upon him as if he had been exceedingly

indiscreet and had said a great deal more than he ought to have done. He gazed at him for some time in silence. Raghubhai felt sorry that he had uttered these words.

"Raghubhai, when I want Ramkisasandasji to stay, he shall stay. None shall remove him. There is no other way possible. You are at perfect liberty to do your worst,"—slowly, as if uttering the unalterable decree of Fate, came these terrible words from the Swamiji's lips. Raghubhai trembled a little in spite of himself. The Swamiji turned to Champa, "Do you know Ramkisasandasji?" he asked.

"No, who is he?"

"He is a plain, contented devotee of the Lord. He is the hidden gem¹ of Ratnagadh. He is the head of the temple of Ramchandrajī here."

"Is he? Then you are staying with him?"

"Yes, I always stay with him when I come here."

Raghubhai's anger was boundless. He had always been obliged to obey orders when with this Bawaji; he was unable to order him about. This was the second time he had lost the game with him. So he got up cursing all mankind.

"Raghubhai, you will gain something in a few days," said the Swamiji.

"What?"

"The office of the Naib-Divan has to be filled."

"Yes I know that. But His Highness the Maharaja is thinking of inviting an outsider."

"Don't be afraid. Have you forgotten our agreement? You are to be the man."

Raghubhai smiled. He suppressed his anger for he saw a fresh chance here. No matter, he would hit the target at last; he could wait. But every day he felt more and more afraid of Anantanand; and so he resented that *he* should have helped him over the first step. He dared not guess when or how this Bawaji would demand the price of this favour.

CHAPTER XVI

IN THE DEAD OF NIGHT

Anantanand discussed the state of affairs with Ramkisan-dasji the next day. The old Bawaji had told him some things, the Swamiji understood the rest himself. In the evening a messenger brought a letter from Varat. As soon as he had read it, the Swamiji announced his intention of returning to Varat immediately and decided to start the next morning.

"Ramkisanadasji, I will be back presently. I have some business in the city."

"Very well, Maharaj. But come back soon." Anantanand went out. A few minutes later Ranubha and Champa arrived in a carriage.

"You see, this is the temple. Are you satisfied?" asked Ranubha.

Champa was quite altered now. She had left off her powder and rouge. Upon her form and face were visible marks left by her anxious thoughts. But her pallor rather heightened the charm of her appearance.

She saw the temple and looked all round for him she had come to see. The walls of the temple were standing but the soul of the place was not visible.

"Where is Anantanandji?"—with an effort she could get the words out.

"He is just gone out. He is going away to-morrow."

"Where to?" exclaimed Champa and Ranubha together.

"To Varat. A letter has come from there, so he has decided to go away." The light went out of Champa's heart, she felt as if suffocating.

Ranubha asked, "What time is he going?"

"Early to-morrow morning."

They both turned back. Ranubha felt sorry and Champa felt as if life had departed from her. She had lived during

many days on the sound of his voice and on the memory of his face;—these were the sole companions of her present, otherwise blank existence. The whole effort of her life now was directed towards restraining her natural tendencies and towards seeing the Swamiji, remembering him by day and dreaming of him at night. And to think that he too would thus go away! Without even saying good-bye? Without even giving her heart one more chance of basking in the glorious sunshine of those loving eyes? Alas! how would she be able to bear it! She had lost completely the heartlessness resulting from her evil life during past years; but she also forgot the great distance that separated her from the Swamiji, and she forgot her own declining youthful charms, for she was maddened with love. Her resolve to worship the Swamiji only from a distance was scattered to the winds, her dreams of leaving her life of shame and of consecrating herself to the path of service under the instructions of the Swamiji vanished into thin air. A raging fire was now consuming Champa's heart: her mind, her reason, her better self had lost all control over her feelings.

They reached home. The Swamiji had called and had a note:

DEAR SON,

I am leaving to-morrow. See that Raghubhar is appointed to the vacant post of Naib Divan. Ask Champa; she can do it if she wants to. My blessings.

ANANTANAND.

Ranubha read the note and handed it over to Champa. She was proud and happy that Anantanand should have given her such a place in his plans, that he should have put such confidence in her skill and her tact. What greater cause for self-congratulation, for legitimate pride? Govardhan Mount might

he held up by the power of the Govardhan-Lifter¹ alone, but his companion, the milkmaid could also hold up her frail stick underneath and experience the satisfaction in her heart of helping her Lord. For love means companionship, it means working together for one object. Champa was delighted, she went mad with joy.

At night Ranubha came in for his usual conversation but she dismissed him on the plea of a headache. Obedient as ever Ranubha went away and getting into bed, the honest man slept the sleep of the innocent. But Champa's mind was tossing in a fearful storm. Her soul was in the temple of Ramchandrajī on the outskirts of the town. She felt she was in danger of losing her reason if she thought of his approaching departure. All the emotions, all the repressed passions of her soul surged up wave after wave in irresistible succession. That he should be going away without her meeting him, without her looking once again upon his face!

Her body, her lips, were thirsting—for what she scarce had sense to admit even to herself. The dancing-girl forgot her life-long experiences, forgot the abyss which separated her from this man who had renounced the world; she was thirsting for the taste of love—the primæval love of the woman for the man—for her woman's birthright.

She tried to cool her burning brow with a jar of water. But was a forest-fire ever put out by a jarful? She got up and put on her walking shoes. She was determined—to go to him, to see him, to meet him once again face to face. She wanted to satisfy her lonely heart calling aloud for its mate. He may cut off her head and welcome, but she *would* once rest it on his bosom. For a moment she asked herself, "Champa, what is this you are doing?" Before her inner self could reply, imagination conjured up the picture of Anantanand. She rushed as unconscious as a moth straight at the flame.

¹ Krishna.

She came down and took the path at the back of the garden. Naturally she had never known what fear meant. Having experienced life among the lowest strata of society she had not any of the finer sensibilities we associate with womanhood. She went fearless like a tigress through the very streets through which Gunavanti had passed with shame and trembling a few days before. It was past midnight. The night was dark and the stars were shedding their dim light upon the earth.

The temple of Ramchandrajī loomed up before her. Champa was walking swiftly, but she felt like a thief in the night. She had taken care to inquire beforehand where Anantandjī's room was. There was a huge open veranda at one end of the temple where he was sleeping and she walked straight up to it.

* * * *

Soon after midnight Ramkisandasjī rose up and thought he would like to chew some tobacco. As he wanted to spit, he went up to the window and opened it. He rubbed his eyes hard: "Who can this be?"

A woman was rapidly approaching the temple. His suspicions were aroused. Why should the favourite dancing-girl of the Prince wander through the streets at midnight and why, above all, in this place? But horror! She turned straight to where Anantanand was sleeping. The Bawajī's eyes were almost bursting out of their sockets. Had the world turned upside down or was he dreaming? Anantanand and *this* woman! Rama defend us!

But he wanted to know more, so he went up to another window and watched from there. That window commanded a full view of the corner where Anantanandjī was sleeping. The old man shook his head, "What is the world coming to! Oh, God!"

CHAPTER XVII

REBIRTH

Champa came in. A late moon was rising, a crescent of flame in the east. She stood below the steps of the veranda and shivered. She stopped and listened for a moment and looked round. All was quiet. Then she ran swiftly up the steps, stumbled,—stood still. She felt a roaring as of a tempest in her ears. She pressed her hands upon her temples and upon her heaving breast. Her heart was throbbing like a steam-hammer; her breath came so swift that it threatened to suffocate her. She felt that every eye there was watching her unseen; but she would not have turned back to save her life. Again she stood still.

She approached the bed. The sharp darts of desire, of burning passion, were piercing her very soul with all their world-destroying force. The Swamiji was fast asleep only a foot—at most two feet—from where she stood. Now the very Heavens might fall, but she would not go back without satisfying her desires.

Once again she stood still; once again she looked round. The flaming crescent had mounted higher and a red glow had overspread the earth. Now she could see Anantanand's fine figure and noble face quite clearly. He was in deep and peaceful slumber. His head—with its high shining forehead—was resting upon his arm; peace and joy were upon his face. But the peace was not such as is derivable from any earthly source, nor was the joy due to the satisfaction of worldly desires. It was a reflection of the PEACE OF THE ETERNAL, of the supreme joy experienced and described by *Yogis*. It was this Peace which had enabled the *Rishis* of old to tame the wild beasts of the forest. And this deep-brooding Peace of God now stilled the storm of passion in Champa's breast.

She became aware for the first time of the true greatness of the man. Champa the woman was defeated. Emotion, desire, passion all subsided giving place to worship and devotion. The woman vanished, and in her place was left the devotee. Only pure devotion remained out of the many conflicting feelings she had brought thither. Her heart was washed clean—was fresh and pure once again.

She stood there a long while, gazing intently at the lotus-face of Anantanand. She sought to imprint each line of his features upon her heart—she was utterly intent on that one object of all her thoughts. Slowly her body bent low, she knelt down, she bent her head upon his feet, put her forehead upon them.

The Swamiji started up at the touch. Champa felt with trembling the full blaze of those wondrous eyes. With her hands folded as in prayer Champa looked at the Swamiji with humble, dumb supplication. Not fully understanding the matter, the Swamiji looked at her with surprise. He looked at her as the Creator¹ might have looked at *Dhara* when she came begging to him and disturbed his devotions.

A moment later the Swamiji had understood all: “Champa, dear, why are you here at this time?” The Swamiji had added the affectionate “dear” to her name.

“My Lord, Swamiji, I have come to you a suppliant, pray, spurn me not” cried Champa in piteous tones.

“Champa, my dear, don’t be afraid. I have understood the sorrows of your heart. I have also understood that now you are free from all taint. Did I not tell you that *tamas* (delusion) will be overcome by *rajas* (passion). Now destroy this *rajas* through *Sattva* (truth). From to-day you are saved. Henceforth you shall be a veritable goddess in human form. You have come here just now to meet me face to face; to offer to me yourself, body and soul. I accept the

gift and will pay its price. I will take away your earthly nature and will give you peace and joy in its place."

"My Lord, Swamiji, I scarce can understand. Only your words keep echoing and re-echoing through my ears. I am ignorant; I understand not your words," cried Champa in despair bowing her head upon her breast.

"Champa! To-day you have been reborn. Now you shall understand all. Through steady pursuit of Wisdom you shall be full of Love, full of My Self. Then shall you form part of Me—of THAT in whom I have been absorbed. Then alone shall you perceive that you, Champa, and I, Anantanand, are not different. 'You and I' are the greatest delusions of mankind. We *are* the Universe, we are in no way separate from it. Our acts are not our own: they are but trifling episodes in the eternal progress of Nature. That you should love me and I should love you is the lower aspect of the LOVE ETERNAL. We are but drops in the Ocean of Love, and are thus eternally united each one to the rest. But when we renounce our narrower 'drop point of view' and strive to realise clearly our Eternal Union, that is the highest aspect of LOVE."

Each line on the Swamiji's face radiated the Truth as he spoke these words. Like some great seer of the Golden Age¹ who had attained the highest—like Siddhartha laying down the ETERNAL TRUTH of the Evolution of the Universe—in a manner indescribably compassionate and dignified did Anantanand tell this Ancient Wisdom to the whilom dancing-girl and inspired her soul with its inward joy. That Wisdom which has been repeated from mouth to mouth so often that it has all but lost its original substance, that Ancient Wisdom lived again in the thrilling words of the Swamiji. His knowledge of the Verities was not based upon dry hearsay—it was drawn from personal experience. He had absorbed it in his life till it has become part of his very flesh and blood.

¹ *Satyayuga.*

The Swamiji raised up Champa, "Champa, dear, the night is far spent. Now go."

"Yes, Lord, I go."

Anantanand slowly muttered to himself the verse :

वैतरागभयक्रोधा मन्मथा मासुषान्विताः ।

बहवो ज्ञानतपसा पूता मद्भावमागताः ॥ ¹

*

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*

From above Ramkisanadasji looked on in mute wonder. His eyes and his face indicated astonishment and devoted worship. As Anantanand recited the holy words the old eyes filled with tears. He could not sleep for a long while. His honest heart was offering its devoted worship at the feet of the Swamiji.

END OF BOOK I

KANAIYALAL MUNSHI

¹ Turned from passion, fear and anger, filled with Me, taking refuge in Me, purified in the fire of wisdom, many have entered into My Being (*Gita*, iv. 10)

THE ROSE OF INDIA

ACT II

SCENE II—TWO YEARS LATER

[*Scene.* A garden, Gondophares' residence in the background.]

(*Voices heard in the distance: "Thoma Muthappen, heal us and help us."* Enter *Ram Chandra, Chief Brahmin and High Priest.*)

Ram Chandra—

A pest upon him ! But his hour is nigh.
Last night the King came back to Narankot.
Now is the time to spread the guileful snare,
And draw its meshes round my helpless foe.
Too long unchallenged in the open streets
He draws the heart of Hindustan away
To his pernicious doctrine—ay, too long
This proud magician throws his potent spells,
Making the blind to see, the lame to walk,
The leper clean—and worse ! Day after day
Folk turn their backs upon their ancient rites,
And ever lighter grow our revenues
And poorer still the temples of our gods.
Into the dwellings of the rich and great
Like an insidious snake the infection creeps,
And e'en within these sacred precincts lurks,
Spreading its bane about the very throne.
Ah, yonder comes the Queen ! Behind this shrub
I will take cover and anon be wise. . . .

(*Hides behind the bush.*)

(*Enter Treptia, the queen and Gad the King's brother, and
Magudani, 'a guest of the queen.'*)

Treptia—

The King is not astir. Ere the moon waned
In the middle watch he came, and sore fatigued
Fell on a sleep profound. Is all prepared?

Gad—

Ay, and fleet messengers ride every way
Bidding the *Rajahs* to his audience.
Spake the divine one further of his will?

Treptia—

Nought save resolve to make his residence
The palace built by Thomas Didymus,
Without delay.

Gad— What saidst thou in reply?

Treptia—

I bade him seek relief from cares in sleep
His plans suspending till the morning came.

Gad—

Yet will his palace be his waking thought,
And our beloved *Mahatma* stand in need
Of all the aid his queenly advocate
Can render when the King's displeasure breaks.

Treptia—

Will that avail against Ram Chandra's spite,
When he with fuel of accusing words
Shall feed the wrath I vainly strive to quench?

Magudani—

May God, the God of Thomas, shelter him
That in the furnace of that royal ire
No harm befall him—lest our darkness lose
The brightness that illumines it, and the poor
Go sad and friendless, and the sick unhealed.
Then never shall he come to Mailepur
Nor lift the shadow from Sinthice's eyes.

(*Enter St. Thomas— makes low reverence to the queen.*)

St. Thomas—

I come with greetings for His Majesty.

Treptia—

O *Swami*,¹ venture not thy safety here,
But refuge seek without the city's gate
Till trusty messengers shall bring thee word
Of the King's pardon, who already craves
To see the palace thou hast builded him.

St. Thomas—

I have no fear with such an advocate
As, royal Lady, thou to plead my cause.

Treptia—

But the chief Brahmin to the royal ear
Hath next the right of access, and therein
His envy such a fiery breath shall blow
As will the tender shoots of counsel kind
Shrivel and slay. He will be here anon.

St. Thomas --

He has been all the while —Ram Chandra, stand !
Thy screen of flowered shrubs avails thee nought.

¹ Swami, 'master,' a title of respect.

(Ram Chandra rises slowly behind the bush).

Gad—

(Drawing his sword)

Thou crafty jackal ! Brahmin though thou be,
Thy base designs shall perish with thee here.

St. Thomas—

Put up thy sword ! That blood upon thy soul
Would lose thee Paradise. O gentle brother,
Whose love for me is passing wonderful,
My Master, knowing all that's great in thee
Is jealous lest thou be by aught that's less
Turned from the path His royal footsteps traced
For thee to follow in His partnership—
To save, and not destroy the lives of men.

(Gad drops his sword-point).

Ram Chandra—

So blades must bow before the might of Ram,
Obedient to my magic.

Treptia—

It is false !

Thou owest thy life, Ram Chandra, to a seer
Greater than thou art, as the sun above
Is greater than the stars that pale at morn.
So shall the glory of thee and all thy caste
Fade at the dawning of a brighter day
That flies to us with healing in its wings,
Speeding its flight across the shining seas.

Ram Chandra—

The queen has spoken. Now I know the truth,
These foreign fancies have enslaved her too ;

And foremost in this wide apostasy
 From Hindu piety and ancient faith
 She treads defiant of the shuddering gods,
 Blasphemes their honour, and reviles their priest.

Treptia—

Thy base espial on thy Queen dispels
 What reverence I have had for them or thee ;
 And all thy Brahmin's dignity, meseems,
 Hath hid its head behind my garden shrubs,
 An adder to be shunned, a thing of scorn '

Ram Chandra -

Right wise are they who shun the adder's bite,
 But fools be they who scorn him—till he's dead.
 The gods be thanked this adder's yet alive.
 Some standing here anon may feel his fangs.

Gad—

Thou threatenest thy Queen ?

Ram Chandra -

I threaten all
 I ride to conquer, or I ride to fall.

(A herald approaches from the verandah of the king's residence)

Herald- -

The royal sleep is ended, and the King,
 This day unto the Gods would dedicate ;
 Wherefore he bids beside his royal bed
 Ram Chandra, high and holy priest of Ram.

*(Ram Chandra smiles triumphantly on Treptia and St. Thomas,
 and passes in through the verandah, Magudani falls fainting
 into the arms of Gad.)*

Curtain.

ACT II

SCENE III

[*Scene.* Gondophares' chamber, the King reclining on cushions—A mute attendant, an altar with lamp lit and floral offerings. Ram Chandra discovered.]

Ram Chandra—

Immortal *Siva*,¹ fold thy son to-day
In the embrace of thy sustaining arms! (*prostrates himself*).

Gondophares (rising)—

Our pious duty rendered, let us know
Take counsel for the good of Narankot.

Ram Chandra—

We live in times when heed to counsel wise
Alone can ward her ruin and her shame.

Gondophares—

What danger threatens her, what doom impends?
Interpret thy dark saying of omen ill.

Ram Chandra—

Danger, divine one, that with every dawn
Waxes in might, and sways her hooded head
To bite the hand that heedless nurtures her,
Since on a false magician from afar
Thou didst heap favours and bestow thy gold.

¹ *Siva*,—a god who appears in a two-armed form on the coins of Gondophares and in a four-armed form on the coins of Kanishka.

Gondophares—

Thou meanest whom ?

Ram Chandra—

Him that with Habban came,
Conspiring to defraud thee of thy gold.

Gondophares—

Ah, now I mind me— 'thomas Didymus !
What hath he done that thou denouncest him ?

Ram Chandra—

What hath he done ! He hath such evil spells
Cast on thy people that like folk bewitched
They follow where he leads them, drinking in
His pestilential teaching, and forsake
The shrines and temples of our ancient gods.
What hath he done ! His sacrilegious feet
Come and depart unchallenged, e'en within
The sacred limits of thy very house,
Until the royal blood itself grows pale
In thrall of his enchantments --and the queen
Avows herself apostate from the gods ;
While the Prince Gad, yet more perverted, draws
On me, a *Brahmin* seer, his impious sword.

Gondophares—

By *Ram* that thunders, 'tis beyond belief !
Yet, spite of all, if Thomas Didymus
Have proved himself an architect as great
As he is shewn *Mahatma*, we forgive him.

Ram Chandra (bitterly)—

One scarce had looked for Gondophares' friends
Among the foes of Gondophares' gods !

Gondophares—

Look where thou wilt, we care not—so thou find them,
But the sun gathers, and our soul is fain
To view the palace that befits our state :
Whither we would thy sacred company.

Ram Chandra (sarcastically) —

Thy servant thanks my gracious lord the King,
But prays excuse ; he hath already slept.

Gondophares—

Already slept ! who thought it otherwise ?

Ram Chandra (Rubbing his hands)—

My lord the King expressed a wish to see
The palace built him by his trusted friend,
The great *Mahatma*, Prince of architects.

Gondophares—

What else ? Dost think our patience limitless ?

Ram Chandra—

Not for one moment, O divinity !
Yet all the King hath of it, he should take
Back to his bed, for only in his dreams
Will he behold his palace of desire --
But while the master sleeps, his watchdog wakes.

Gondophares—

Is there no palace built by Thomas, then ?

Ram Chandra—

Not one stone on another !

Gondophares—

And my gold ?

Ram Chandra—

Vanished like dew at *Vishnu's* mighty step! ¹
 'Squandered like rice at weddings, every grain! ²

Gondophares—

Great Gods! He has befooled me, like a child
 Who goes to tease a tiger in his lair,
 While the great monster for sheer wonderment
 Stares helpless for a moment, ere he strikes.

(*Pauses—then with a cry of rage rushes out*).

Ram Chandra—

I could myself believe in Thomas' God
 If he can save him from those rending claws!
 'Tis well! 'Tis well!—but I have yet to deal
 With our apostate queen, and wreak revenge
 On that proud princeling for his insolence
 So now to work; I have no time to lose.

(*Speaks to mute.*)

Slave, if a chance of sliding from thy yoke
 Were lent thee, wouldst thou take it? Thou art mute.
 'Tis well; mutes make the best accomplices.
 At the King's table thou wilt serve to-night.
 'Tis better. On his right hand sits the queen
 In gold of Ophir, Thou canst not mistake her.
 On his left hand, the brother of the King.
 'Tis he thou hast to do with. Take this phial,
 And when thou fill'st his cup with glowing wine,
 Therein its contents empty. That is all.
 Obey—Thou shalt not need to serve again.
 But servants shall await thy beckoning.

¹ The three steps of *Vishnu* celebrated in the *Rigveda* are interpreted to mean the sun at its rise, at its position in the zenith and at its setting.

² Rice was most probably in use at Indian weddings of this period.

Fail me—Thou diest by a cobra bite,
 And as a cobra through a hundred lives
 Creepsst upon the earth a thousand years.

(Mute takes the phial and prostrates himself. Ram Chandra spurns him with his foot)

Thou' son of Iblis, rise and get thee hence ! *(Exit mute)*.
 Now all should work out to my purposes.
 Within an hour that draught will take effect,
 And Gad in ashy stiffness will recline
 In death's own likeness, while they wail and weep.
 I shall come forward at the break of day,
 Proclaim myself the champion of the gods
 Against the Christ of Thomas, *(Spits)*—and will challenge
 The traitor to a contest. If he can
 Restore the dead to life, his doom to die
 Be eased to doom of life-long prisonment ;
 But if he fail *(as fail he surely will)*
 I, when the sun's at his meridian,
 And all my potion's spell have spent its power
 From death's infernal shades will summon Gad !
 And he, at my command shall come to life.
 Then to her gods will Narankot return
 And all, on pain of death, their homage pay
 From the queen downwards to the meanest thrall.
 And I shall be the Lord of Hindustan !

CURTAIN.

(To be continued).

FRANCIS A. JUDD

¹ Iblis, i.e., the Devil. Though a Mokammedan idea, possibly not unfamiliar here after the coming of Christian missionaries

SOME LITTLE SONGS OF INDIA

1

Listen, listen, O Fairest one,
 Pleasure and Pain are brothers twain.
 With one who loves for Pleasure sake
 For ever dwelleth Pain. (*Jnānadāsa*).

2

I'm proud of my pride in Thee, O Love,
 Beauteous with Thy Beauty I.
 "Dearer than life a hundredfold
 Thou art"—my life's eternal cry. (*Jnānadāsa*).

3

What merit mine, what merit mine, O friend,
 That brings me to this glorious end?
 Lord of all the worlds is He
 Careth e'en for little me.
 His love is mine in work and rest,
 He lies as woman on my breast,
 Worth and worthless so have met;
 O how can I that love forget? (*Jnānadāsa*).

4

Dark and deep the *Sārān* night,
 Roar on roar of Thunder-sprite,
Rim jhim, rim jhim! rains the rain.
 Stretched on couch in heart's delight,
 In dishevell'd raiment'dight,
 Soothed by slumbers sweetest strain.

Th' peacock's screech on top of hill,
 Th' love-mad croak of frogs in *jhil*,
 Th' Kōel coos in spacious joy :
Jhinjā ! chirps the cricket bride,
 Th' mud-hen clucks her love beside,
 What time comes in dream that boy. (*Jnānadāsa*.)

5

His form is like the cloud that's young
 His touch like love songs softly sung,
 His face alike the full-moon rise,
 And laughing sun-beams are his eye,
 Unseen the lotus tints His breath,
 I fear Him. For His love is death. (After *Jnānadāsa*).

6

Lovers call me Thy beloved,
 My heart's aglow with prideful joy,
 My glory so by Thee begotten,
 None that glorious pride destroy. (*Chandidāsa*).

7

Gone—gone were eyes by Beauty furl'd,
 Thenceforth Love has filled the world. (*Vidyāpati*).

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE.

A PLEA FOR BANKING LEGISLATION IN INDIA

Indian Joint-Stock Banking is barely a century old. The Agency Houses of Calcutta conducted joint-stock banking but there was "gross mismanagement, wild speculation and extravagant living" on the part of these big merchant princes who conducted banking business. Loans were granted to sugar and indigo plantations, to mercantile firms and to people in and out of the service of the East India Company. Reckless speculation was carried on with their money in agricultural and building business and dock constructions. When the mercantile firms failed in 1829, they also pulled down the Agency Houses with them.

The Union Bank, which arose out of the ruins of the Agency Houses fared no better and it had to close its doors in 1848. The first Bank of Benares also failed ignominiously owing to fraudulent and criminal mismanagement on the part of its officers.

The Great Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 unsettled the country for quite a long time and no banks could arise. But in Bombay, thanks to Lancashire money, that poured in for our cotton, many Banks arose in the years 1864 to 1866. These could not withstand the speculation tendencies of the time and failed miserably. The first Bank of Bombay also had to close its doors in 1866.

At about this time, some of the Exchange Banks were started in London to conduct banking business in India and with the exception of these no big Indian Joint-Stock Banks were floated. Hardly was quiet restored in the country, when the exchange trouble began to occasion serious loss and all minds even that of the Government had to be turned to that pressing problem. Thus Nineteenth Century History did not afford any scope for the serious development of banking business in India.

It was in the first decade of this century that a serious impetus was given by the *Swadeshi* movement to the starting of indigenous Joint-Stock Banks. The prosperity of Northern India, increased on account of the opening of the Canal Colonies and the development of export trade in wheat, and rendered possible the investment of capital in banking companies. The Banks were merely considered as instruments by which the people could become rich all of a sudden but their disillusionment came during the crisis of 1913-15, when almost every one of these "mushroom banks" was severely put to a test. Being built on a shaky foundation, they all tumbled down.

The bank failures which commenced in November 1913, are still to be heard of now and then. Only in 1919, about two banks failed in Bengal. The lack of government help intensified matters and made confusion worse confounded.

Several prominent Indians have suggested legislation for the better management of banking business. Discussion keenly centred round this pivotal point after the failures of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. There is a consensus of opinion in this matter and the necessity of passing idealistic legislation as a safeguard against further failures and a repetition of past disasters must be acknowledged by the Bankers and recognised by the Indian public.

At present there is little or no banking legislation, hardly worth its name. The Government of India has committed the fatal blunder of requiring all companies, banking as well as trading concerns, to be incorporated under the same Act, that is the Indian Joint-Stock Companies Act of 1913. They have shown a deplorable lack of banking ideals in permitting the authorised capital of a bank to be much larger than its paid-up capital, thus tolerating inadequate banking capitalisation. They must be aware of the fact that a high amount of paid-up capital is essential for banking success. An undue

prolongation of the paying in of capital is another short-sighted policy allowed by the Government. The paying of dividends out of actual capital or when a substantial Reserve has not been accumulated, has not been prohibited. The character of Bank Loans has not been defined. The granting of too large a proportion of the loanable funds of a bank to individual borrowers has been permitted. Any kind of business could be done by a bank "even medical attendance and coach-building." No Cash Reserve is stipulated. The advisability of legislating to get a better security of deposits has not been considered. There is not the least semblance of an independent bank examination on the part of the Government or of the Clearing House. Not much of publicity is insisted upon. Only the loans of a Bank have to be divided under certain headings and information has to be given on this point. There is no power to call for any special return from the Banks.

Banking business conducted on the Joint-Stock principle is quite new to the Indian mind and familiarised with the stable private Banking Houses of the indigenous bankers ; the Indian people in the smaller cities and places view the Joint-Stock Banks managed by outsiders with some apprehension. The recent failures made them all the more suspicious. Even though there are only 24 Banks with their Capital and Reserve Fund above Rs. 5 *laks* and a host of smaller concerns, there is no reason why our Banking regulations should not be stiffened.

General Banking Laws are required not to provide the proverbial "Strait-Jacket" for our Banks but only to inspire the public with confidence. Confidence is the breath from which the Banks draw their very life. While giving the necessary freedom to the Banks, to make their business flexible and adaptable to the business needs of the community, the general banking laws should forbid the Banks to venture out on other fields than banking.

Banking business should be strictly defined and the temptation to reduce the Cash Reserves to 10 or 12% as in 1913-15 period should be removed. The pernicious practice of a Bank lending money on its own shares should be penalised. The amount of loanable money that can be granted to individual customers should be limited. The habit of paying dividends when substantial Reserves have not been accumulated or when profits have not been earned or when bad debts have not been completely written off, should be prohibited by legislation. The minimum required capital of a Bank should be fixed according to the population of its locality and all of that subscribed, and at least half of it should be paid, before it can be permitted to begin its operations. The sense of unity and an *esprit de corps* should be created by the incorporation of a Bankers' Association as in the case of Canada.

The Government should take the initiative in this matter. Neither the fewness of our Banks, nor the fact that they are managed by trained Westerners must stand in the way of official regulation of our Banking Companies.

The apathy of the existing Indian Joint Stock Banks in this matter is hardly creditable to them. So long as they are doing sound business, no official regulation hinders them. On the other hand it will help them to a great extent in creating confidence in the minds of the people. Education of the masses as to the utility of the Banks and their services or the advantages of a "banking habit" is a slower process and it takes many years to create that confidence in the minds of the Indian people. Official regulation will accomplish the same in a shorter time.

Let the Government of India have a separate department to control the Banks and appoint inspectors to check the Banks. Let there be sound regulations and let the Government undertake the duty of helping the sound banks in times of panic and there is expected to be a wonderful

development of banking business in our country. The field of banking business is not overcrowded. Many more Banks can arise without detriment to the existing ones and if only the Government were to be the regulators and guarantors of these banking companies, people will easily confide trust in them and our banking problem will be solved to a great extent.

Even China, "the home of strife, of flaunted authority, of widespread disintegration and of national penury" is making rapid strides in the matter of her banking business. Before the recent war, banking business was nothing but a mere pawn-broking profession. The native bankers, never helped the Chinese Government for the development of railways, industries or reorganisation purposes. But with the closing of the foreign money markets in the recent war, the Chinese Government had to cajole the leading native bankers and quite a profitable business was done by the Pekin Banks in financing the Government at 15 to 20% rate of interest.

There was then a rush for banking business and the various guilds are now financing themselves by starting banking firms of their own. So to-day one finds Silk Banks, Agricultural and Labour Banks. Chinese Banks are established even in foreign countries (e. g., Sino-French Bank, Sino-American Bank, Sino-Italian Bank, Sino-Belgian Bank, Sino-Danish Norwegian Bank). The starting of these Banks is having an appreciable influence in bringing about peace, order and tranquility. The Chinese Mandarins and the medal-bedecked Tuchun are realising the futility of civil war and many of these are undertaking banking business.

These newly started ventures are agitating for legislation to help them and smooth their progress. The Second United Chinese Conference at Tientsin has passed resolutions inviting legislation in the matter of issuing notes, bills and cheques. It wants the abolition of the tael for the dollar. It is pleading for the exemption of transportation fees on all bank notes and specie payments from one bank to another.

It points out the necessity of stopping the minting of old silver and copper currency. It is agitating for the recognition of the existing Clearing Houses and Banking Associations in the country. It is asking the State to start a bureau of information to ascertain the financial standing of business firms and just as Dun's and Bradstreets' Reports do in America give them an official rating. It requests the State to establish a standard technical terminology for banking business. The Foreign Bankers' Association of Shanghai is closely co-operating with the Chinese Banks and an International Banking Association is to be started shortly.

Although India does not stand so disorganised, bankrupt and in a morass of helplessness as China, the Indian Joint-Stock Banks can follow the path shown by their Chinese contemporaries and agitate for state regulation. The Exchange Banks have their own Association and have no inclination to take the lead in the matter of a Bankers' Association.

The Imperial Bank of India can play a prominent part in organising a Bankers' Association and thus provide common meeting ground for all the banks. This will eventually lead to mutual help, mutual respect and mutual control. The Imperial Bank is basking under the sunshine of official patronage and it certainly matters little to it, whatever may happen to the other Banks. No evidence is forthcoming that it is making good use of her privileged position. Of course, nothing can be expected out of Banks under European supervision. They do their business on unimpeachable lines and they do not cherish the prospect of strong Indian-managed Banks competing with them. This must be the only reason why the banking structure in India is but an isolated number of banks coming into contact in the Clearing House mechanism and beyond it there are jealousy, bickerings and mutual dislikes. The idea of a common fraternity has not dawned on them.

"Unity is strength" says the adage and in no walk of life is it, so true, as in banking business. So, the existing Joint-Stock Banks should unite together for mutual protection in times of emergencies. Failing Government help this is the next best help that they can have. The great safety and economy of co-operative action should weld them into a conscious whole.

It is true that "there is no legislative road to banking paradise" as one English Banker puts it. Legislation may not be the panacea for any of our banking ills. Government control and inspection may not prevent banking failures. It is indeed true that many of the National Banks of the United States of America failed inspite of detailed banking laws and rigid Government control. It is quite likely that the machinery of Government will not produce a competent staff to supervise the various bank offices in an effective manner. It may be that Government control may become a mere prelude to Government ownership. It is undoubtedly certain that control emanating from within by the depositors, by the shareholders and by the customers will be more effective and valuable than control from without by the Government-appointed examiners. Good directors, good servants and good auditors can accomplish more than any set of ideal regulations.

However, it must be recognised that much benefit will result from sound banking laws. The newly started banks can derive invaluable aid from these restrictions. Some Banks finding nothing to hinder them in the shape of laws may become "adventure-some" and tie up the depositors' funds and come to grief. By all means, the Banks should be progressive and display the pioneers' willingness to turn their hand to whatever comes in their way; they should adapt themselves to the changing requirements of their customers, but this does not mean that they should play fast and loose with other peoples' money.

The Government so long as it defines the nature of business that a bank should do and imposes ordinary restrictions which the Banks themselves have to arrive at for the proper conduct of their business, should be regarded as doing its legitimate duty and cannot be said to transgress the freedom of Bank Officials. The Government should see that thrifty people do not suffer by entrusting their savings to bogus banks. Only the Government should not make the Banks instruments of their own and incline to the opinion that "the best way of creating money is to borrow it."

Government legislation may be unnecessary in the case of highly advanced countries where the banks themselves understand their legitimate business and where the public are alive to their responsibilities. But in backward countries, where banking ideals are not crystallized, legislation is not unnecessary. The banks will be new to their business; the public ignorant of their duties and many a pitfall can be avoided by following the straight and simple rules laid down by the Government. It is folly to leave everything in amateur hands to regulate their business by the quantum of their own limited experience or inadequate bye-laws, they may pass for themselves.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

THREE LADIES OF OLD JAPAN

Those who prefer Japan of the pre-*Meiji* era to the commercial Japan of to-day will read with no little pleasure the diaries of three Japanese ladies who were associated with Court life during the eleventh century.¹ They are diaries so full of charm, so human, so touched with the spirit of poetry that they remain as fresh and as pleasing to-day as when they were first written. It is no insignificant tribute to the translators that in conveying this Japanese *pot-pourri* to English bowls they have retained much of the original fragrance, much of the beauty and sadness that make these delightful journals memorable.

Pierre Loti, between glowing descriptions of dawns and sunsets, has ecstatically told us of the charm of the Japanese woman: and so, too, has Edwin Arnold, Lafcadio Hearn and other writers. They have been inclined to emphasise this trait to the exclusion of everything else. They have made us see a submissive little woman who bows and smiles over the tea equipage in a kimono that is a garden of rare flowers: a sweet creature to be loved and petted, one who still slavishly follows the fatuous teaching to be found in *Onna Daigaku* ("The Greater Learning for Women").

Without wishing to minimise the charm of the Japanese woman, it is time we realised that she is much more than a pretty toy. Elaborate etiquette and ancient custom have not erased either her human feelings or her marked intellectual qualities. It was a Japanese woman who wrote a long and famous novel several hundred years before Fielding gave us *Tom Jones*. Long before the birth of Chaucer Japan was producing literary work of a high order, and the best work

¹ *Diaries of Court Ladies of Old Japan*. Translated by Annie Shepley Omori and Kochi Doi. With an introduction by Amy Lowell Constable. 21s. net.

in prose was written by women who showed a finer creative faculty and more innate refinement than we could discover in our own country at a similar period. While our King was foolishly bidding the waves recede, the Emperor of Japan was enjoying Court life that was deeply imbued with literary culture. I doubt if we began to appreciate the æsthetics of colour until the present century, but in Japan, of the eleventh century, Murasaki Shikibu wrote, in reference to the dress of one of the Mikado's ladies: "One had a little fault in the colour combination at the wrist opening... It was not so bad, only one colour was a little too pale."

The first of these diaries, the *Sarashina Diary*, is written by a lady whose name we do not know. She was so gentle, so self-effacing that it seems almost appropriate that Time should have buried her name beneath a shower of once fragrant blossoms. But in her diary, almost warm with the touch of her hand, we find something that is imperishable—the heart of a woman who turned to life in the hope of finding love, who prostrated herself before the Lord Buddha in the hope of finding peace, and who in the end found no abiding joy, human or divine.

I have read nothing quite so wistful and sad as this diary that spells failure—as if the word had been written with moon-touched flowers. There is no suggestion of bitterness, no angry rattle of musketry as in the *Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff*. We seem to be listening to a long-drawn call that flutters, breaks, and then goes on again till it fades away behind the Hill of Death. No wonder she failed as a Court lady. She was far too sensitive to succeed in a life that demanded so many qualities she did not possess. Had she been less human she would probably have become a nun, but the note she struck so plaintively was of this world and not another. She was in love with Nature in a way we of the West can hardly appreciate. She was as familiar with the different voices of the wind as was Hardy's Marty South,

but unlike Marty she was articulate, and delighted to express every shade of emotion in a brief but poignant poem. When we look with sympathetic eyes a little deeper we see the cause of all her sadness, all her restlessness. She desired love, not a passionate, tumultuous love that would have submerged her, but a gentle romantic love, a Prince Charming who would understand her every mood.

Our Lady of the Diary sought consolation in written romances. She read them as avidly as Don Quixote himself. When she had received copies of *Genji Monogatari* and *Ise Monogatari*, she wrote: "Now I could be absorbed in these stories taking them out one by one, shutting myself in behind the *kicho* (screen). To be a Queen were nothing compared to this!"

Once it seemed that she was to have a romance of her own. She tells us about it in a tearful whisper. One came to her who was not "rude or amorous like other men, but talked delicately of the sad, sweet things of the world, and many a phrase of his with a strange power enticed me into conversation." Rain fell, and they talked poetically about it and having discussed the seasons her admirer went away. When he returned some time later to the Imperial Palace, they once more met each other. Her lover recalled the shower of rain, and she replied:

What intensity of memory clings to your heart?

That gentle shower fell on the leaves—

Only for a moment [our hearts touched].

This gentle stranger, who had so much in common with the diarist, desired to play a number of songs upon his lute. "I wanted to hear it," she writes, "and waited for a fit occasion, but there was none, ever."

It is a sad diary. The line, "Only for a moment our hearts touched," is the one bright flash of joy, but it is the flash of

lightning that leaves the night darker and more desolate. I find the following in her journal :

I seek her in the field, but she is not there,
Nor is she in the smoke of cremation.
Where is her last resting-place ?
How can I find her ?

Shall we find this gentle soul sitting on a rosy lotus in some Buddhist Paradise ? Shall we find her reborn into the world, calling for love and finding it, or did she end her sad song before they carried her dust away and buried it within sound of some temple bell ? I do not know. But when I turn the pages of her diary I find her there.

Murasaki Shikibu, author of the famous *Genji Monogatari* also wrote a diary. One is impressed by her knowledge of men and women and by her keen power of observation. Japanese Court life afforded rich material, and she certainly made the most of it. She has given us a vivid account of her experiences, vignettes that are never spoiled by a superfluous line. The supreme writer of Japanese romance, she is too shrewd, too wise, perhaps too disillusioned, to be over-romantic herself. Exquisite dresses, witty and beautiful poetry, and all the courtesies of Court life did not hide from her observant eye the primitive passions that lurk beneath the veneer of culture. She lays bare these things without pointing a moral, without undue emphasis, and without a touch of the sensational. She describes with extreme delicacy the accouchement of the Empress, and writes with unconscious humour of the Crown Prince's first bath, royal ablutions accompanied by the reading aloud from historical records, the throwing of rice and the twanging of bow-strings to keep off evil spirits. She does not hesitate to tell us that some of the courtiers got hopelessly drunk, and that when this happened frightened ladies sought concealment behind screens.

She writes : "Torches were lighted in close rows along the outer doors of the eastern veranda so there was day-brightness and it was really awkward to walk there. I felt for the girls, but it was not they only who were embarrassed. Young nobles looked at the girls face to face, almost bringing the lights down in front of them. They tried to draw a curtain before themselves, but in vain, and the nobles' eyes were still on them. My heart throbs even at the memory of it." One night at Court the Prime Minister knocked at Murasaki Shikibu's door, and in the morning sent her the following poem :

All the night through, knocking louder than a water-rail,
I stood in vain at the door of hinoki wood.

She replied :

A cause of deep regret, indeed,
Had the door opened at the knocking of the water-rail!

Murasaki Shikibu does not seem to have regarded her position at Court as an enviable one, and so far from being vain about her literary work, she writes of it with unaffected contempt. She may have been referring to her own books when she wrote : "They are the homes of worms which come frightening us when we turn the pages, so none ever wish to read them." She frequently prayed before the Merciful Buddha of the Western Paradise, believing that "everything in this world is burdensome." She writes : "Though I set myself devotedly against worldly passions, it seems that there extends before me a limbo of dull wanderings before I can mount the cloud."¹ .

The Diary of Izumi Shikibu seems to have been written with the intention of preserving one of the diarist's many love affairs. It is full of clandestine meetings, of doubts and fears,

¹ Her allusion to the cloud referred to the belief that at death Buddha reveals himself seated upon a rainbow-coloured cloud

of quarrels and reconciliations. Through all the vicissitudes of that intense union these lovers never missed an opportunity of expressing their feelings in poetry. Sometimes Izumi Shikibu's lover found a stranger's palanquin outside the loved one's door. Then there was more trouble and more verse-making. Once when he tapped for admittance Izumi Shikibu was asleep and did not hear him, an incident that reverses a certain well-remembered scene in *Conrad in Quest of His Youth*.

There is one note common to all these diaries, the quavering but persistent note of dissatisfaction and disillusionment. These three ladies of old Japan flutter round the Buddha like gorgeous butterflies seeking some secret honey that shall bring peace. Whether life affords joy for a moment, an hour, a day, we never fail to see the final dust of it all, never fail to hear the cry of disappointment. Even Izumi Shikibu, whose life was a full and passionate one, is said to have written on her death-bed :

Out of the dark,
 Into a dark path
 I now must enter.
 Shine on me from afar
 Moqn of the mountain fringe.

I would remind those who regard this plaintive note as merely morbid that the Japanese are more sensitive to beauty than we are, and it is a beauty always touched with *mono no aware wo shiru* ("the Ah-ness of things"). The Festival of the Dead, that great coming back of Japanese souls, could only be possible among a people of poets, and inspite of the intensely pathetic note of these ladies of Old Japan, not one would fail to return to a world that, for all its sorrow, is still beautiful with the scent and colour of flowers, the shimmer of sun-flecked water and the song of birds.

F. HADLAND DAVIS

PROSE STYLE

"In my opinion it ought to be regarded as one of the functions of a University to inculcate the importance and to cultivate the practice of style."

Occasional Addresses (1893-1916)—Asquith.

Style in its ultimate sense is manner, and style in prose is manner of writing words just as style in dress is manner of wearing clothes and style in cricket is manner of making strokes. This sounds simple enough, but, like all definition by synonym, is too simple to be satisfying. Though it exists in countless examples, prose style is yet an elusive, inconstant thing, masking itself in multiform manifestations, and changing, like a chameleon, in accordance with the surrounding circumstances of theme, thinker, audience and occasion. Many people consider it a mere embellishment like the spangles superimposed on a lady's dress or the polish laid on a piece of furniture, but this idea that style is extrinsic to subject is reminiscent, as Newman says somewhere, of an illiterate Eastern lover pouring out his passion whilst his paid letter-writer puts it into appropriate phraseology, dipping "the pen of desire in the ink of devotedness" and making "the nightingale of affection warble to the rose of loveliness." Whence comes also the point of the advice in *Caliban's Guide to Letters* that every writer should keep handy a few jottings which will enable him to add "what one calls style" to his compositions. Style is thus made to stand for a quality of expression rather than expression itself, and the average man, feeling properly superior to finery as finicking and effeminate, is becomingly indifferent to a thing he does not really understand. Yet he can usually experience the pleasure given by good style and allow it to influence his valuation of literature, but he is content to recognise and enjoy it as art without having any desire to

know it scientifically. In that stimulating and suggestive book *On the Art of Writing*, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch protests against the intrusion of the scientific spirit into literature, but he has not persuaded at least one reader that science should be excluded from literature, that theoretical generalizations should be eschewed in literary criticism, and that definition and classification, though necessary in scientific studies, are altogether out of place in literary pursuits. "Beetles, minerals, gases, may be classified," he says, "and to have them classified is not only convenient, but a genuine advance of knowledge. But if you had to make a beetle, as men are making poetry, how would such classification help?" But surely, if one were making a beetle, it would be helpful to know what kind of beetle one was trying to make, while if one attempted to make a gas without some such knowledge, might not a distressing accident easily occur? The truth is that science and literature, like science and religion or science and philosophy, cannot be shut into ideatight compartments: their moods are different it is true, but their materials and their methods are not necessarily antagonistic. Aesthetics, for example, is the scientific study of art; it classifies the various arts, defines their functions and limits, determines the conditions of artistic production, and formulates the principles of artistic appreciation. Again, the scientific doctrine of evolution leads in one direction to the religious argument of design, while in another its process of progressive integration from incoherent heterogeneity to coherent homogeneity is traceable, according to Herbert Spencer, in literature and all art. So far as style is concerned Sir Arthur's ideas are unsatisfying to the scientific or philosophical mind which asks what style consists of, whence it comes, and how its many diverse forms can be reconciled. Being professedly an artist, his treatment of the subject is perhaps purposely inconclusive. Though he admits incidentally the connection between matter and style, insists that the

style can never be separated from the man, and does not overlook technique as a finishing factor, he makes no attempt to synthesize these scattered reflections, while his definition of style as "the power to touch with ease, grace, precision, any note in the gamut of human thought and emotion" is as little instructive in substance as it is logical in form. This is not the way to knowledge for, as Pater says, "all progress of mind consists for the most part in differentiation, in the resolution of an obscure and complex object into its component aspects." Is it not worth while therefore to enquire what the constituent elements of style are, to endeavour to explain it in the abstract, to seek some principle applicable to all the particular forms in which it presents itself? In order to do this, it is not necessary to discourse learnedly about noumena and universal terms, but it may be suggested that, if sea-power can be considered in the abstract apart from the fighting quality of any particular navy or ship, style also can be similarly considered apart from the pleasing quality of any particular writer or book, the practical utility of the process being that it prepares the way for a proper understanding and appreciation of the various concrete forms of style.

The fundamental reason for writing is to communicate thought, but thought can only be communicated as the thinker conceives it, and over and above this intellectual or utilitarian end of communicating thought through the medium of personality, there is also, in all writing that is literature, the artistic or aesthetic end of communicating pleasure to those who can perceive the facet of truth which is called beauty as well as that which is called knowledge. In any piece of writing there is therefore the thing treated of, the subjective way in which it is treated, and the objective way in which it is presented. Writing is thus made up of thought, feeling and form, and style is compounded of these simples, thought being the substantial element, feeling the spiritual or personal element, and form the outward and visible

technical element. Every product of every writer's pen has a style of its own, though the qualities of that style, as distinguished from its component elements, may vary from the worst kind of badness to the best kind of goodness. All writing is not literature, for literature is "a matter of putting sincere thought and feeling in fine form," but the point is that the province of style encompasses thought and feeling as well as form, that its function in the office of literature is not merely ministerial. A thought seeks expression not only to make itself known, but also to know itself, and though most thoughts are formulated in words before they find expression, the words in which they find literary expression are usually very different from those in which they are first conceived; there is almost always an appreciable interval between the cloudy conception and the clear expression, and it is during that interval that style comes into being as the joint product of thought, personality and technique. As a parent may be traced in particular features of his offspring, so may isolated sentences be referred back to one or other of the formative elements of style, one derived from knowledge, resulting from reflection and conveying information, another illustrating Francis Thompson's dictum that the object of style is adequately to embody individuality, while a third exhibits some happy turn of diction or professional trick of technique; but the style as a whole is always of mixed descent, the predominating strain varying with the subject, the writer, and the extent of the writer's artistic experience. The sphere of literature has two poles called, in the terminology of De Quincey, knowledge and power, and the style of any particular piece of literature is, so to speak, polarized by its position along the axis round which all literature revolves. According as its prime aim is utility or beauty, according as it informs or inspires, according as it corresponds to the philosophy of Bacon or of Plato, so will the qualities of its style be derived

mainly from one or other of the three essential ingredients of all style. Yet even a scientific treatise may be made more acceptable as literature by easy expression and a personal touch, while the most revealing of essays will soon become boring without body of thought or beauty of phrase. Generally speaking, the thought element in style conveys information and aims at lucidity, the personal element portrays character, not excluding eccentricity, and aims at charm, while the technical element displays beauty and aims at effect; but all three elements act and react on one another as well, and then finally coalesce into an intellectual and æsthetic whole, the object of which is to achieve pleasurable intelligibility with taste as well as sense.

This analysis will probably be challenged alike by the general reader and by the literary critic. The former will pass the technical element, the latter the personal one, but both may exclaim that there is a radical distinction between thought and style, matter and form, theme and treatment, between the thing said and the way of saying it. The distinction is undoubtedly common, and is even convenient for critical and colloquial purposes, but it is nevertheless arbitrary and also artificial in the sense that it is only made to facilitate thought and speech. Not that the distinction is altogether without a difference, but the difference is difficult to define except by saying that thought is a part of that which as a whole is style. To illustrate, does not the style of an apology depend as much upon the words in which it is couched as upon the bearing of the offender, just as the interpretation of a law or treaty turns as much upon the letter of the document as upon the spirit in which it is interpreted? Nor, it must be admitted, is reputable literary authority wanting to support the distinction. For example, Matthew Arnold said that, without ideas of the first order or the best ideas attainable at the time, "you are provincial by your matter, though you may not be provincial by your style,"

while Stevenson remarked regarding Burns that "it was by his style, and not by his matter that he affected Wordsworth and the world." But such statements involve the idea that style is nothing more than form, nothing beyond the alien apparelling or verbal vesture of thought, an idea which both Wordsworth and De Quiney showed to be unphilosophical. Wordsworth, for instance, wrote of "those expressions which are not what the garb is to the body, but what the body is to the soul, themselves a constituent part and power or function in the thought," his idea being that words are the incarnation of thought and not merely its dress as Johnson and Chesterfield, in accord for once, had said before him, and as Samuel Butler has said since. Similarly, Carlyle made Professor Teufelsdröckh deny that language is the garment rather than the flesh of thought, Flaubert asserted that form cannot be detached from idea, and a living writer, who is both creator and critic, has declared roundly that "style cannot be distinguished from matter." As is not unusual, the truth lies somewhere between these extremes of unity and duality. The expressed idea cannot be separated from the informing mind, but that mind is only one of the factors determining the form of the expressed idea, one of the raw materials from which the finished product of style is manufactured. Identity of idea and expression, absolute accordance between subject and form, is achieved spontaneously on rare occasions only, and is then as much an affair of mood and feeling as of thought; more ordinarily, even the most sincere writer must seek words suitable to his meaning, his expression must come limping after his thought, following in its track and as far as possible keeping step with it. Suppose that the same thought or matter were presented to Bacon and Milton, Addison and Burke, Jane Austen and George Eliot. Would the same literary result be produced by each or even by each pair? And if not, what would the differences be due to? Would they not be due to the fact that different people respond to

different suggestions from the same subject, one reacting imaginatively, another rationally, one seeing the romantic side, another the material one, while yet another is tickled by its humorous associations? In the *London Magazine* of April 1821 Bertram Dobell found an article on the death of Keats signed "L." Lamb knew Keats, had reviewed his *Lamia*, was writing in the *London* at the time, and had used the initial "L" once or twice. Yet in spite of such *prima facie* evidence of Lamb's authorship, Dobell decided otherwise because "if Lamb had written it, there would have been in it a sentence or two which would have discovered his craftsmanship." Matter *per se* is not therefore style, but neither is it something entirely distinct from style. Matthew Arnold declared that having something to say is one of the secrets of style, while Pater pointed out that the difference between good and great art in literature depends directly on matter. Without enquiring whether Max Muller was scientifically correct in saying that thought and language are identical, it may safely be said that, so far as writing is concerned, there is a close connection and interaction between thought and words, that they are concomitant and correlative, that one cannot come into coherent existence without the other. Newman observed that "matter and expression are parts of one," and as such parts they are connected as closely as a seed and its flower, the sheen on leaves and the sap that feeds it, the hue of health and the body that bears it. It is in fact thought that makes the difference between a handicraft and a fine art, between being smart and being *chic*, between snapping a subject and making a study of it, between adding pictures to a book and illustrating it. As an element of style, thought or matter can never be over-obtrusive as the personal element occasionally is, nor over-cultivated as the technical element often is, despite the fact that it may be, as in scientific or philosophical exposition, the only element of style in evidence; even in such writing

however, it is better to have a sugar-coating on the pill, better to write like Huxley than like Kant, because the importance of the matter demands that no part of the reader's attention should be dissipated in penetrating obscurities of language and unravelling mazes of careless composition. Though it may not be true that "subject is everything," for good matter does not ensure good style any more than a good model implies a good picture or good marble a good statue, yet subject is an important factor in style and must besides suit the writer if he is to put the best of his personality and skill into his work; it is in this sense perhaps that style has been called mental behaviour, a kind of *cachet* of mental capacity and mode of thinking as social behaviour is of upbringing. To sum up, matter, thought, idea, subject, is the foundation of style and the material of its superstructure, the shape and unity of which is determined by the informing spirit of personality, while technique is merely the scaffolding and other more or less mechanical means by which the material is put into place, with due regard to artistic effect, but with reference also to the Greek architectural ideal of ornamentation being an integral part of structure. As the accompanist must follow the singer, so must the writer aim at an answerable style, one in which manner matches matter; and yet, though no man will write a topical tale as he would a temperance tract, nor describe a public execution in the same way as a state ball, every man will do each of these things differently, and the correct conclusion is therefore that, while form should follow matter generally, it can only do so within the limits imposed by personality and artistry.

This brings us to the personal element in style, that element which is not only like the mint-mark on a coin showing where it has been struck, but which also contributes the characteristic ring that distinguishes the genuine from the counterfeit. In some forms of literature it is even more, it is the most vital of the interdependent forces which produce

the organism of style, the life-principle of style as secure from reproduction as the nucleus of the protoplasm. It is personality that differentiates men from animals and marks a man among men, and though a writer may borrow his matter, and must acquire his technique, his personal point of view comes from within and cannot be reflected from without. Originality of idea is not easily come by at this stage of the world's career.

“ What canst thou know, O scholar,
Which hath not long been known ?
What canst thou have, O spoiler,
Which dead men did not own ? ”

Most of our ideas have parents with a family likeness, and it is generally as difficult to determine when and where an idea has begun as it is to determine when and where life begins. The secret of originality usually lies therefore in a kind of personal parallax which makes the familiar new by a change in the point of observation, the merit of style becoming thus more often a matter of treatment than of idea. The phenomena of personality appear in all human activities; in all handicrafts, in all fine arts, the differentite of the self-consistent personal touch are constantly in evidence; even in crime, as Charles Mercier tells us, the specialist preponderates over the general practitioner, each class of specialist has its own mental make-up, and, what is most to our purpose, each criminal tends to repeat his own speciality in the same individual way. No man can jump away from his shadow, and his mental idiosyncrasies, his personal prejudices, even his physical peculiarities, will appear more or less in his written work, in his choice of a medium, in the structure of his sentences, in the amplification of his thought, in its illumination by lights of metaphor and its illustration by pictures of

simile. Hence comes the invalidity of Herbert Spencer's dictum about a specific style showing poverty of speech. It is perhaps a philosophically ideal abstraction of human imperfection, a sealed pattern of perfection hidden somewhere in Heaven, but it does not fit in with the worldly facts for all great writers have a specific predominating style which, while it allows of some variety according to subject, as is seen in versatile writers like De Quincey, yet pervades most of their work with a particular manner, an individual uniformity, a general consistency flowering from personality. Personality is indeed the preserving salt of all those forms of literature which are not protected from decay by the timeless universality or vitalizing freshness of their thought, and it acts through the peculiar view-point of the writer, the particular atmosphere in which his thought moves and has its being, the individual treatment based on his special sense of fact and built up out of all the influences that combine to make the man. "*Stylus virum arguit* - our style betrays us" said old Burton, and Sir Walter Raleigh adds that "other gestures shift and change and flit, this is the ultimate and enduring revelation of personality." So also Schopenhauer said that style is "a safer index to character than the face," while J. A. Symonds remarked that "the qualities of style are intimately connected with the qualities and limitations of the writer and teach us much about him." *Cherchez l'homme* thus becomes one of the chief canons in the criticism of style, but it must be applied cautiously because there is considerable variation in the extent to which the style may be judged from the man or the man discovered in the style. Sometimes this is due to the subject, sometimes to the man himself, sometimes to the conditions under which he lives and works. But personality will always peep out somewhere even if only in peculiarities of vocabulary or perversities of punctuation, and it is therefore humanly impossible for writing to be "seraphically free from taint of personality"

like the lark's song of Meredith. One aspect of impersonality, mainly French in origin, requires literary art to mirror life without also reflecting the artist, but this deliberate objectivity of attitude is a matter of technique like the tone of voice in speaking, and is powerless to eliminate the personal equation from style. Wordsworth, for instance, accounts for the alleged impersonality of Shakespeare's art by suggesting that his universal mind was able to reach every variety of thought and feeling without bringing his own individuality before the reader. But this faculty of imaginative realization is common among creative writers, and no very delicate perception is needed to feel Shakespeare's style ripen as his character matured and his experience widened, while the readiness with which a fresh or forgotten Shakespearean quotation or allusion is recognised by the familiar reader shows that his style was individualized and characteristic, even though the characteristics it embodies may be unidentifiable from want of knowledge of the man. Besides, Shakespeare may always be taken as the exception proving any literary rule, and Wordsworth himself allows this particular rule when he says: "In all that Spenser writes you can trace the gentle spirit of the man: in all that Milton writes you find the exalted sustained being that he was." If further evidence is required to refute this other pathetic fallacy of impersonality, Lamb, Goldsmith, Montaigne and Stevenson may be cited to prove that every book, at least in the literature of power, is permeated with its author's personality, that, as Carlyle says, "whatsoever of morality and intelligence; what of patience, perseverance, faithfulness, of method, insight, ingenuity, energy: in a word, whatsoever of strength the man had in him will be written in the work he does."

Coming now to the technical part of style, it may be premised that, while the elements of thought and personality are of interest only to the serious student of literature for

theoretical and critical purposes, the technical element is useful for practical purposes to the ordinary reader and average writer. Though Stevenson deprecated too close a scrutiny of the springs and mechanism of literary art, a knowledge of such technicalities must help all of us to appreciate and emulate its finest achievements. It has been said that the so-called laws of style are no more essential to good writing than logic is to right reasoning or grammar to correct speaking, but, while it may be allowed that writing does not become literature simply by knowing and observing these laws, just as logical reasoning is not necessarily convincing nor grammatical speaking necessarily effective, it may confidently be asserted that all these arts are the worse practised as their respective technical rules are disregarded. Every man can in fact increase his stylistic stature a cubit by taking thought over technique, though it does not follow of course that technique is everything or even, as the de Goncourts held, of more importance than ideas. Technique has its uses, but its rules are of negative rather than positive value, their proper purpose being, not to secure excellence under any circumstances, but, provided the other requisite conditions are present, to show how excellence may be secured and to help in securing such excellence. They are, that is to say, a means and not an end: they contribute to, but they do not create, the force and felicity of style: they economize energy and make for smoothness in running, but they do not constitute the prime mover in the mechanism of style. A man cannot become a good writer by studying the formal part of style any more than he can become a good footballer by learning the laws of gravity and motion, or a good painter by mastering the combinations of colours and the niceties of perspective: there are "some beauties yet no precepts can declare" and "nameless graces which no methods teach," and these originate subjectively from something to which personality and thought both subscribe, something which art merely sharpens to the point

of literary effectiveness. Technique may by itself convert a rough diamond into a brilliant gem, but its rules of literary expression, derived inductively from the practice of great writers, are always of individual rather than invariable application, are constantly being disregarded by genius as idols of the market or theatre, and are further conditioned by the ever-present necessity of exploiting the sweet uses of diversity. Herbert Spencer's generalization about economizing the reader's attention is in some respects the most satisfying precept of composition yet enunciated, but it takes only indirect account of the reader's pleasure and none at all of the writer's feelings. Sturge Moore has suggested similarly that the effect on the reader is the true criterion of style, while Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch says also that "we have an obligation to put ourselves in the reader's place" because "it is his comfort, his convenience, we have to consult." But surely there is a duty towards oneself as well as a duty towards others, surely submergence of self is not good style in every kind of writing any more than it is good form in every circumstance of life.

Technique in writing is concerned primarily with words, with their choice as units, their arrangement as sentences, and their combination as paragraphs, chapters and books. Philosophers like Hobbes tell us that words are merely counters or conventional signs, while poets like Shelley assert that speech created thought. Both are right in their own way because words are nothing without meaning just as meaning is nothing until it is put into words. Yet practical people are aware that, provided their limitations are not overlooked, provided they are kept in their places as all servants should be, words cannot be disparaged or disregarded in the manner of those champions of brevity, the learned professors of Laputa. According to Bacon, "the first distemper of learning is when men study words and not matter," but Coleridge said that prose is "words in their best order," while Swift defined style as "proper words in proper places." But what are "proper

words " in prose ? Lessing advised his sister to " write as you speak and you will then write well." He was really trying to cure the German sentence of elephantiasis, but his advice is still repeated to aspiring authors who are told, on the added authority of Wordsworth, to shape their ardent ideas in a conversational mould by using " the language really used by men." The advice certainly serves as a salutary check on youthful exuberance for, just as the beginner on a bicycle fails to get over the ground because he keeps his eye on the front wheel instead of on the road ahead, so is the inexperienced writer apt to lose sight of the end of his art by paying too much attention to one of its means and seeking, like the Archbishop of Granada, " a literary reputation for a sublime and elegant style." Yet, while words are common to all modes of communicating connected thought, the words used in writing must differ from those used in speaking for the same reason as ceremony differs from custom in all human affairs. At bottom, the convention which made a Roman citizen wear a *toga* on certain occasions, and which now-a-days forbids flannels at a levee, is the same as that which pranks writing in the comparatively imposing verbal garb necessary to the impression that something out of the common is afoot. Writing in the literary sense of the word is the art of the few, speaking is the business of the many, and the forms that fit the one do not suit the other. Writing in the language of everyday intercourse does discourage circumlocution and encourage concrete expression, but for the rest current speech is inaccurate in syntax, unmindful of etymology, disfigured by slang, unbeautified by rhythm, and full of weary overworked phrases necessary to instant comprehension. " To expect an author to talk as he writes is ridiculous," says Hazlitt, and it is at least as ridiculous to expect him to write as he talks for, except in the drama and fiction of contemporary life, writing like a dialogue makes as much for unreality as talking like a

book. "Quite so," says somebody trying to turn the attack, "but all that I mean is that writing should be as free from self-consciousness as speech, that a writer who clearly sees the truth has as little choice of language as Tobias Hobson's customers had of horses." But this is opposed to the teaching both of experience and of writers like Ben Jonson who have told us to "seek the best and be not glad of the forward conceits, or first words, that offer themselves to us." In his *Note-Books* Samuel Butler says that he never took any pains with his style, but adds that "a man may, and ought to, take a great deal of pains to write clearly, tersely and euphemistically." This ingenuous inconsistency is as entertaining as Lord Morley's remark that he has very little faith in rules of style, though he has an unbounded faith in the virtue of cultivating direct and precise expression, and Butler's sarcastic reference to Plato's "seventy shies at one sentence" need not therefore be taken too seriously, more especially as we know that Newman found himself obliged to take great pains with all his writing, and that Ruskin ascribed his command of language to the constant habit of choosing his vital words carefully. And what about Stevenson, who modelled his sentences in clay before he cut them in marble—Pater, who brought forth the unique word with such mental travail—La Bruyère, who pursued the one and only perfect expression with passionate persistence—Flaubert, who was if possible more meticulous, almost morbidly meticulous, spending days, even weeks, over a single page of writing? Recollecting those thoughts "which into words no virtue can digest," in which "the meaning must be tossed from expression to expression, mutilated and deceived, ere it can find rest in words," one is inclined to doubt whether anything really good or great has ever been written with a running pen. Yet, as there is the word of Nietzsche that sometimes "everything seems to present itself as the readiest, the correctest and the simplest means of expression," and its confirmation by the

living critic who says that "beauty and truth may come together and find the exactly right word in the flash of a moment," one may believe that a writer of genius does occasionally experience a twinkle of inspired consciousness, one of those pregnant glimpses that Ulysses caught of Minerva, when the infinite becomes for an instant finite, when the interpreter of God to man sees without straining, hears without hearkening, and takes without asking. But, as Matthew Arnold said of the gipsy's art, "it needs heaven-sent moments for this skill," and a writer more often finds himself in the position of Cassim in the robbers' cave repeating "barley" and the name of every other grain in the vain attempt to recall "sesame." Second thoughts are proverbially the best in life, and in literature they are generally obligatory. As the late Sir Edward Cook showed in his *Literary Recreations*, "many of the happiest thoughts of poets," in whom a truer light of God is said to burn, "many of the words and phrases which might seem most inspired or inevitable were, in fact, second thoughts." So also the prose-writer soon discovers that art is long, and that, during his anxious searches for Swift's proper words, the despairing cry of Richard II is continually forced from his determined lips—"I cannot do it; yet I'll hammer it out."

Hazlitt supplied another answer to our question about "proper words" when he wrote that "the proper force of words lies, not in the words themselves, but in their application," that is to say in a happy concord between their denotation and connotation, a skilful adaptation of expression to idea, a truthful correspondence between the thought or feeling the writer wishes to convey and the associations his words arouse in the minds of his readers. This respect for the imagery behind words, this symmetry between the sign and the thing signified, this precise proportion of term to purpose as Pater puts it, is the complementary secret to Matthew Arnold's having something to say. It justifies the long word,

the Latin word, even the inelegant word, used significantly and suggestively; it condemns the short word, the Saxon word, even the sweet-sounding word, used without significance or suggestion. Appropriate diction confers "all the charms of all the Muses often flowering in a single word"; it flashes the writer's message along a double wire of meaning and implication, visualises his thought into a reality beyond the power of print *per se*, and adds wealth of beauty to the gift of thought. But knowledge, intelligence, taste and tact are all very necessary to success in the process, for it is not difficult to become dangerously obsessed by the delusion of the pre-ordained *mot propre*. Again, "great wits sometimes may gloriously offend," and the archaisms which Lamb wrote for antiquity, the exotic blooms of the de Goncourt brothers, the imperial-purple passages of Carlyle, are "graces which a master-hand alone can reach." Fine words do not make fine writing, nor would Puff's variegated chips of metaphor make a pleasing literary mosaic, yet every writer may "attempt to spring imagination with a word" provided the ideas he starts are worth following up and do not lead his readers away from the mental game they are supposed to be stalking. Still, for ordinary wayfarers, the rule of the literary road lies neither to right nor to left, but along the middle, that *via media* of words which, avoiding both the rocks of tired tradition and the ditches of daring neologism, convey pertinent ideas euphoniously, fit meaning without being superfluous, satisfy the understanding without neglecting the emotions, and appeal to the aesthetic sense without being unintelligible. But the margin between virtue and vice is as narrow here as elsewhere, and no man can be "omniverbivorous" like the Autocrat of Oliver Wendell Holmes. Asked what he mixed his colours with, the painter Opie replied: "With brains, Sir." And so is it with words in writing for, though "man's use or defiance of the dictionary depends for its justification on nothing but his success," that success can only be won by a laborious

process of thoughtful training in the course of which the brain and taste are slowly taught to select with almost instinctive tact and nearly infallible felicity.

Having secured the proper word, its proper place must next be sought, its place in the pattern most apropos of the general design. As the proper word is a mixed matter of meaning and imagery, so is the proper place a mixed matter of meaning and melody, the common object being to convey thought with the maximum intellectual force and artistic effect compatible with the minimum effort required for comprehension. Apart from pedestrian considerations of syntax, this proper place is determined by emphasis and rhythm, emphasis being effective presentation by position, by the use of climax and the placing of qualifying words as in the classical contrast between "Great is Diana of the Ephesians" and "Diana of the Ephesians is great," while rhythm is effective presentation by sound, the elemental appeal of harmony and smoothly undulating movement which facilitates mental work as much as it lightens manual labour. Prose rhythm does not, it is true, move always on the same feet, and should besides be as unobtrusive as a good accompaniment, yet "take care of the sense and the sounds will take care of themselves" is a decidedly specious precept for, though English prose is seldom as consciously rhythmical as Latin prose was, its words and phrases should nevertheless be selected and placed with some regard for tone and cadence. Well-tuned words and phrases are perhaps of more importance in poetry, but even in "the other harmony of prose" a style's prosperity lies to some extent in the ear of him that reads it. Sound is the echo, sense the authentic voice, still it is advisable always to read aloud what one has written even if nothing higher is attained than the "pronunciability" of Bentham or that "evasion of cacophony" which was De Quincey's pre-occupation. The aim of expression as a whole is to achieve the *curiosa*

felicitas of the ancients by compromising the claims of intellect and emotion, sense and sensibility, utility and beauty, but expression is still only a part of style, and should not receive nor attract more attention than a constituent part deserves. Some one has said that the style of Saint-Beuve's letters is superior to that of his essays because he had no time to spoil it, and the later work of Henry James shows how the problems of presentation may delight unduly. A touch of rouge on the cheek of style is permissible, but it must be put on with the art that conceals art, there must be no meretricious display, no conspicuous pursuit of a letter or sound, no pompous use of whale-like words by little fishes. Anything that sacrifices substance to show is inartistic, for unity is the crowning glory of all art, and unity in writing comes from the individual guided, but not led, by the rules of expression applicable to his medium and theme.

Prose style is thus a synthesis of three elements, but it is not, like water, a chemical compound of elements in fixed proportions with properties of its own; it is rather a plastic amalgam in which the ingredients are mingled in varying quantities while retaining their own qualities. Perspicuity is such a quality of the thought element, urbanity of the personal element, and propriety of the technical element, sincerity being a quality common to all three. And what is sincerity in writing? Nothing more or less than truth in thought, feeling and form, an honest sharing of the opinions expressed and a modest accommodation of subject to capacity, no posing in describing experiences and no assumption of unfelt emotions, no conscious use of superfluous ornament, no going, as Montaigne puts it, a mile out of one's way to hook in a fine word. Novelty is the writer's will-o'-the-wisp beckoning alluringly under modern competitive conditions, and sincerity is the only guiding light that will keep him out of the sloughs of affectation and *ad captandum* vulgarity. But sincerity is only a quality and is powerless to produce good

style if thought is trivial, feeling feeble, and expression technically inadequate. All the conscientious ploughing in the world will not bring forth a crop out of sand, and if the writer wishes to escape the fate of Gil Blas, who was given credit for speaking what he thought, but was nevertheless dismissed because he had not thought anything deserving of being spoken, he must not only write what he thinks or feels, but must also think or feel something worth writing about, and must besides write it in a manner worth writing. The distinction between essences and qualities is old enough, but it is often overlooked, for most of us confidently classify or label a particular style, and think we are showing considerable critical acumen, when all that we really mean is that the literature in which it is embodied or exhibited excels in or lacks certain qualities peculiar to one or other of the essential elements of all style. The epithet "rhetorical," for instance, implies the use of elaborate ornament to captivate the senses and divert the understanding, but it indicates only a quality not a differentiating essential. Employing artifice is not necessarily the same as being artificial, and rhetoric is bad art only when it replaces the lucid by the luminous. As William Watson says, "truly the worst literary pose of all is that of unliterariness," for every writer must be something of a deliberate stylist if he takes any pride in his art, and tries to give and receive pleasure by its practice. It is all a matter of degree, the permissible degree varying with the kind of writing and the objective it has in view. For this reason Matthew Arnold's ideal of style is insufficiently human, too coldly intellectual; persuasive urbanity is most commendable, but convincing frankness may suit certain circumstances better, and Parson Yorick's want of discretion in words then becomes artistically appropriate, hitting is more effective than hinting, and strong feeling can find strong expression without offending good taste. "Every species of composition," says De Quincey, "is to be tried by its own

laws"; each has its *écueil particulier* as well, and it is not sound criticism to impeach a *jeu d'esprit* on the charge that it fails to conform to the canons applicable to a *chef d'oeuvre*. Yet an essay on dreams and a treatise on indigestion may both be literature and may both display art in the different degrees and qualities suitable to each. In the same way, the style of every writer should be judged on its inherent merits taking into account the individual, the subject, the audience, and the other accompanying circumstances. By such standards, the styles of Bunyan, Swift and Defoe on the one hand, and of Johnson, Pater and Ruskin on the other, may all be equally good or equally bad; each has its own qualities, with the excellences and defects of those qualities, and there is thus no invariable criterion of the literary merit of human style any more than there is an invariable criterion of the philosophical truth of human knowledge. Style is the resultant of three forces—intellect, personality and craftsmanship—which combine to produce the composite effect, while each also acts on the others during the process, which work in partnership and end in union. The head, the heart and the hand are all at work, though the amount each does and its effect on the result vary with every writer. Ideally style should orchestrate its three instruments into a rational and melodious diapason, but in practice every writer plays one or more of them more vigorously than the others, has one or more of what may be called the mind, soul and body qualities of style more strongly developed than the others. Remembering how Plato was ridiculed by Diogenes the Cynic, it will be discreet to avoid the generally admitted difficulty of defining our subject. Besides, if the idea of a thing has been grasped, it is unnecessary to define it, and the idea of prose style, as conceived in this essay, is perhaps clear enough to focus comprehension on. It is essentially and immutably manner but it is not, as the Philistines think, a sort of *deus ex machina*, a mere intellectual gesture or literary accent, some

incommunicable fragrance peculiar to the finer flowers of literature. It is the whole manner in which ideas are born and brought out into the world as written words, manner of thinking, manner of feeling, and manner of expression, good style being sincerely appropriate manner, appropriate to the subject, appropriate to the writer, appropriate to the occasion, and appropriate to the object or end in view.

LIONEL BURROWS

WOUNDED VANITY OR INJURED PRIDE

He who claims to keep truth inviolate must speak of no man with either hate or fear. *Tacitus.*

“No man, living or dead, is put upon a pedestal but hands reach up to pull him down.

The price of superiority is envy.

Those who can do nothing else can mock.

It is the one revenge of mediocrity.

It is the one triumph of failure.”

Frank Crane.

In acknowledging his obligations to Oeser Goethe says: You have taught me to be modest without self-depreciation, and to be proud without presumption. Would that some one might do for Prof Jadunath what Oeser did for Goethe! For with our restless Cuttack Professor it is a question, not of modest sense of worth, but of pontifical airs—not of justifiable pride, but of unabashed Egomania. He knows the strength and quality of his rare intellectual powers. He is fully conscious of his wondrous, literary triumphs. And he must proclaim his great gifts from the house-top. He has not the patience to let people discover these for themselves. The Professor is on the war-path. He is bent on being recognized, not only as a scholar and researcher of the highest order, but also as a critic of the very finest metal; a critic of all-seeing wisdom and of all-embracing knowledge. The University of Calcutta is, for the present, the object of his censure and criticism; and his criticism is one continuous stream of disparagement and dislike. He has condemned the University and its policy; censured its reckless expansion; found fault with its unworthy, unlettered staff; has called for a searching scrutiny and an unsparing enquiry into the

present condition and the present working of the Post-Graduate system. No one will, for a moment, disagree with the Professor in his demand for an enquiry. No one will; for a moment, question the desirability of receiving light and wisdom, even should the light come from Cuttack and the wisdom from the historian of the *wisdomless* Aurangzaib. We seek light and thankfully receive light—come from what quarter it may. But I have grave doubts and misgivings whether all this criticism which has been levelled against the Calcutta University is really the outcome of an eager, earnest desire on the part of Prof. Jadunath to remodel the University, and remodel it nearer to his heart's desire, on a foundation broad, liberal, expansive; making it the centre of light and culture, the seat of genuine research and the shrine of genuine researchers. Perchance all this gall and bitterness is, the outcome of wounded vanity, of injured pride! I shall make my meaning clear, and without the least delay.

The attacks are directed against Sir Asutosh; against the Post-Graduate system; against the High Court and Police Court half-timers who belong to the Professorial staff. The spirit, the language, the tone and the temper of his criticism amply betray the movement, and unmistakably reveal the working of his mind.

Sir Asutosh—the dust of whose feet this proud Professor took at Darjeeling, not very long ago, in the midst of a considerable crowd—is now the object of his unrelenting vituperation. Sir Asutosh has wrecked the University; has brought it to the verge of bankruptcy; has selected and appointed useless, worthless men. He, in short, is responsible for the decline and fall of the University of Calcutta. I must straightway confess that Sir Asutosh has committed one egregious error—perhaps, the only serious error of judgment in his life. He has forgotten to find a place, an honoured place, I should say, for Prof. Jadunath Sircar in his scheme of things. Imagine the Calcutta University, bereft of this

literary star, this laurelled genius! It is tragic, catastrophic! How can this error be atoned for, punished! I envy Cuttack: for the Professor's connection with that centre of civic activity will, in days to come, be the only proud boast of the *Uriyas* in the domain of higher learning. I envy the Indian Educational Service: for the Indian Educational Service has robbed the Calcutta University of its just and rightful heritage—the Professor's distinguished services to letters. But enough! I must not drift into woes and lamentations; my only comfort and consolation is that the Professor still adorns the Indian soil, and still lives and thrives under the Indian sky. Ah, how the longing eyes weep! how the bleeding heart sighs! Ah! if he had been with us to-day, holding the Carmichael Chair or some special Chair created expressly for him, to honour his learning and to satisfy his purse—Ah! if only that had been done, we might have been spared the pain of reading hostile criticism, and the Professor deflected from the necessity of offending against the laws of gentlemanliness as laid down by that most gentle and saintly of men—John Henry Newman. Understandable now is the attack on Sir Asutosh. The French proverb says, dear reader, “to know all is to forgive all.”

Now as regards the half-timers of the High Court and the Police Court. I shall leave others to fight their own battle. To my own case I shall refer. There is no Police Court practitioner connected with the Post-Graduate Department except myself; and the attack, obviously, is intended for me. The Professor has not the courage openly to come forward and challenge my credentials or question my competence for the post I hold at the University. He must make a vague allusion, throw out a dark hint. “The busy High Court half-timer or Police Court practitioner can by no stretch of imagination be described as a researcher *in esse* or *in posse*.” This is the Professor's indictment against us members of the legal profession. I must at once own that I have not attained,

nor can ever hope to attain, the exalted eminence in the realm of historical research which Prof. Jadunath Sircar has attained, and which seems to be his exclusive prerogative and unquestioned birthright. But without being his peer as a historian or his equal as a researcher I, too, in my own humble way, have done historical work. More than twelve years ago Prof. Jadunath himself, in a paper on my father, spoke of me as one who “*has already made his mark as an Orientalist.*” This severe, austere researcher; this upholder of truth and courage—was he, then, speaking the truth, or was he uttering a gross and wicked falsehood? Since then more than four volumes attest my diligence and testify to my interest in historical studies—Police Courts notwithstanding. True, my books have not the same merit and excellence as those of Prof. Jadunath. Still they have received favourable notice from scholars in East and West alike.

The very same hand which portrayed me some twelve years ago as one who had already made his mark as an Orientalist now attacks me under a thin veil as one who cannot be described, by any stretch of imagination, as a researcher *in esse* or *in posse*.

Why this change of opinion? Is it honest? I shall now state a few facts, and leave the public to judge. In the famous *Dumraon Case* the Professor was cited as a witness against the Raj. I might mention in passing that in spite of the Professor's evidence we won the case. A feather in the Professor's cap—to be sure! Dr. Suhrawardy and I were helping Mr. C. R. Das in the Persian section of that notable case. The Professor in the witness box was a sight worthy of the Gods. His “scholarship” was tested, and it received a rude shock. That was not all. I had to prepare a note on the expert evidence, and in that note I had to criticise the Professor's evidence, challenge his scholarship, expose the inconsistencies in his testimony; in short, I had to unmask both him and his learning. Grave was my delinquency,

unforgettable my crime. Out of consideration for the Professor, and my long acquaintance with him, we spared him *unnecessary* pain. But the Professor has not forgotten the *Dumraon Case*. Of one thing I give the Professor my most solemn assurance. Should I ever have the opportunity of seeing him in the witness box again, no quarter will be given and no consideration extended to him. We shall test the Professor's scholarship and his boasted knowledge of the Persian tongue. I fling the gauntlet—let the Professor take it up if he will.

Now as to the attack upon the Post-Graduate system. The main charge against Sir Asutosh is that he has allowed the Post-Graduate Department to go beyond the means available at the University. Sir Asutosh relied upon the Government—Sir Asutosh trusted to the munificence of his countrymen. But who would dare condemn the spirit which has called the Post-Graduate Department into being or has prompted its extension? Is not the University the seat and centre of learning, and of all kinds of learning? Is any branch of study to be closed or shut out because there are only one or two students seeking instruction therein? Is learning to be assessed in terms of current market values? Why has Sir Asutosh appointed so many Professors? Why has he opened up so many bypaths of study? Such is the taunt, the gibe, thrown at him. Why? Because no learning is to be excluded; no study put under an embargo; no light is to be shut out, no source of enlightenment to be choked or stifled in a University worthy of the name of a University. "All knowledge whatever is taken into account in a University, as being the special seat of that large philosophy which embraces and locates truth of every kind and every method of attaining it." This is what Newman expected of a University, and this is what Sir Asutosh Mookerjee carries into the sphere of practical politics. Is he to be condemned for his hopes and aspirations; for the high, exacting standard which he set up for the Calcutta University, earnestly seeking to raise it to that level? In

his absorbing passion for learning Sir Asutosh may have miscalculated the financial strength of the Calcutta University, or may have placed too eager a confidence in the philanthropic instincts of his countrymen; but no one possessed of sane views regarding the scope and extent of the work required to be done by a University will criticise, censure, far less condemn the educational policy that he has inaugurated and pursued under serious, embarrassing, almost paralysing difficulties. Stephen Leacock has very truly said: 'The price of Liberty, it has been finely said, is eternal vigilance and I think one may say that the price of real intellectual progress is eternal alertness, an increasing and growing interest in all great branches of human learning (*Essays and Lit. Studies*, p. 68).

No one will, for a moment, contend that the Post-Graduate Course is flawless. Far from it. It is still young, very young, and there is room, ample room, for improvement. As the years roll by, improvements will be effected; the nature and quality of the work will be raised to a higher and a still higher level. We can never look for perfection in things terrestrial—not even in Prof. Jadunath's *Chef-d'œuvres*. It behoves us, then, to be mild and merciful in our judgment; to be forgiving and gracious to those less lucky, less learned, and less renowned than ourselves, though perhaps better men. One thing struck me as strangely curious in Professor Sircar's article. It is his idea of original research. I speak, of course, with great reluctance and timidity—not being a researcher *in esse or in posse*, and not possessing first-hand knowledge nor anything like the Professor's experience of the English Universities or those of Europe. My experience is very little, I admit. It is confined to Oxford—"that god-fearing and that God-sustained University of Oxford", and is limited to seven mortal years only. Prof. Jadunath has doubtless much larger and much varied experience of the English and the Continental Universities. Hence, my reluctance and timidity to express my views in opposition to the views of so

eminent, so richly endowed and so widely-experienced a Professor as Professor Jadunath. During my residence at my University—and I am proud of my University—I found neither the Professors nor the students pouring forth volume after volume of original research. Nor did I find the lecture-rooms Museums of great literary or historical finds, nor the lectures revelations of great undiscovered historical truths brought day by day to light by the genius of the numerous *alumni* who live within its hallowed walls. Good Heavens! if the English, the Continental and the Indian Universities flooded the world with original researches—and nothing short of this the Professor demands—there would be no room to stock these erudite works nor would any life be long enough to lift more than the merest fringe of the curtain of knowledge.

“Education, I tremble before thy dreaded name,” says George Moore. The cruelties of Nero, of Caligula, what were they? A few crunched limbs in the amphitheatre; but thine, O Education, are the yearning of souls sick of life, maddening discontent, all the fearsome **and** fathomless sufferings of the mind.”

What will George Moore say when the golden dreams of Prof. Jadunath are realized? We praise heaven with a joyous thanksgiving that the Professor's dream of a university filled with prodigies is still far from realization. But pause! Whatever may be the theoretical view of original research entertained by the Professor, his practical view seems to be a descent into the Averno of translation of Persian passages by the *Maulvis*, and then their rendering into *elegant* English by the Professor. I advisedly use the word *elegant* in spite of the malevolent counsel of the *Saturday Review* to Professor Sircar, to adopt his own native tongue as the vehicle of expression, on the two-fold ground that the use of a foreign language was calculated not only to impair the reputation of the Professor but also to corrupt the style of his readers.

By original research I understand— I may be wrong and I speak subject to correction—work which has opened up a new vein of thought ; struck a new path of enquiry ; explored or reclaimed a new region of knowledge ; shed some fresh, illuminating light on some neglected branch of study ; unearthed, for the first time, some hidden, obscure, undiscovered information leading up to the correction or revision of some long-standing traditional view current among scholars. I mean all this—nothing more nor less. Such workers are not numerous, nor are such discoveries the common-places of existence. There are not many Mommsens in Germany, nor are there many Fustel de Coulanges in France, nor, alas, and alas, are there many Jadunath Sircars even in the enlightened Province of Behar and Orissa. The glory of such men consists in their rarity. But Prof. Jadunath is as eager for original researchers as that delightful poet—Calverly—was for senior wranglers. Has he—Calverly, not written these lines :

“ Each perambulating infant had a magic in his squall.

And my cager eyes detected senior wranglers in them all.”

Charming ! Senior wranglers for Calverly ! Original researchers for Prof. Jadunath Sircar. Until the day dawns which witnesses the realization of the Professor's dream of having original researchers like Mommsen and Coulanges, not in *handfuls* but in *bushels* : let us strive, in all earnestness, to keep the spark of learning alive, to march abreast of the modern world ; to push forward the frontier of knowledge ; at least not to lag behind the nations of Europe, or even behind Jadunath Sircar (how inspiring is the very name !), in the search for truth and the pursuit of knowledge. The Post-graduate system—imperfect though it be—is a step, a long forward step, toward that spirit of learning which a University must create, foster, strengthen, diffuse—if it is really to fulfil its mission and carry out its trust. Has not this new venture opened up fields hitherto neglected ? Has it not provided

opportunities, hitherto unknown at this University, for explorations which, according to Prof. York Powell, are the most important work which a University is called upon to do? Has it not gathered within its bosom scholars of striking and varied attainments, thus, perchance, enabling them to illuminate, widen, enlarge the frontiers of knowledge? It has hardly had a fair trial. Let the lovers of learning and lovers of the country join in trying to make it a success. Criticize but be honest in criticism. Retain; do not destroy. Help it with suggestions as well as with funds. We often hear complaints regarding the Indian professors and their slender intellectual output. Is the complaint just? Have they a tithe of the material comforts and advantages enjoyed by the professors and scholars of the West? Let us, too, have well-endowed professorships; a more liberal scale of pay; immunity from dull, soul-deadening routine; complete freedom in the choice of subject; and we shall soon have a wholly different atmosphere from what prevails to-day in our Indian Universities. But all this requires money; and money is just what the Professor and men of his views and outlook are not quite inclined to sanction.

"No sneak or sycophant, no plagiarist or sluggard can belong to the world's aristocracy of intellect. He can't make any addition to human knowledge. He cannot produce any sample of real research." "Real research" seems to haunt the Professor. The sober historian has been swept away by the tide of surging emotions.

We hold no brief for sycophants, nor have we anything but absolute contempt for them. But how many men are there of the noble breed of Abu Hanifa who declined the invitation of a Caliph to teach his son at the Court at Baghdad? Or of the type of Dr. Johnson who refused to meet an English King at his palace? Or, coming again to more recent times and looking nearer home—how many of Professor Jadunath's independent researchers would, like

Mir Taqi, refuse to have anything to do with a ruling prince, or, like Zawq and Ghalib, cast away with disdain the laureateship offered to them by the Nizam of Hyderabad ?

Like his researchers—his Super-scholars too do not apparently jostle about in the streets of his University. Let the Professor show one quality in justification of his proud aloofness, or noble courage, or deep disdain of things earthly, and we shall take off our hats to him in token of our genuine respect and admiration. Not until then shall we bend our knee to him, or his like. Glorious instance of pride—wondrous example of independence it was, when the advocate of fearless independence, the unrelenting censurer of sycophants, stooped down and took the dust off the feet of Sir Asutosh at Darjeeling. It may almost be called a historical occasion. Who shall measure the value of the opinions, or the weight of the censures, of a man capable thus of cringing one day and biting another ?

Let us first rid ourselves of our slave-mentality before we talk of freedom and independence. May we not say to the professor : “ Physician, heal thyself.”

Prof. Jadunath has spoken of Oxford, and in his enthusiasm would have Calcutta, at one stroke, transformed into Oxford. If by some magic he could achieve that end—well and good. We would only be too thankful to him ; for every Oxford man loves Oxford, and loves it with all the strength of immortal love. But the Professor, in his overpowering zeal, has evidently lost sight of the fact that it has taken Oxford many centuries of struggle and effort to be what it is to-day—the beautiful city of Light and Lore. Not only that. Where else can you have its historic associations ; its ineffable charms ; its colleges and its churches redolent of the dreamy and picturesque past ; its very atmosphere steeped in the romance of the Middle Ages, and yet aflame with all the aspirations of modern times. Oxford—how the very name thrills and stirs us with delight ! It recalls, in a

trice, the vanished days, ever dear to Oxford men, spent within its historic walls—days all the more dear now, for imagination gilds them with its golden hues, and love claims them and retains them as its dearest memory, its unfading joy. Unforgettable though the charms be; unbreakable though its mighty spell—yet Oxford has not always shed light as she does to-day. She too has had her hour of darkness and of gloom. It would have a sobering influence on Prof. Jadunath were he to recall the observations of Edward Gibbon on his *Alma Mater*. And yet it was not so very very long ago that the historian of the *Decline and Fall of Rome* joined and left Oxford in sullen disdain. Even Oxford did not blossom into greatness in one magical night. Why, then, should the Professor expect miracles and impossibilities from the Calcutta University? Should he not restrain his impetuosity, and allow the University a chance, an opportunity to develop its resources, to reveal its powers, to display its intellectual strength?

Not intolerance, not uncharitableness, not the spirit of contempt, but a generous outlook, a wider sympathy, charity, forgiveness and love should animate, guide, control the Professor's critical faculty and devastating judgments. I may repeat here the advice which Joseph Conrad gives to artists—advice which the Professor, too, may seriously take to heart and, if possible, accept and follow as his rule of life.

“I would ask that in his dealings with mankind he should be capable of giving a tender recognition to their obscure virtues. I would not have him impatient with their small failings and scornful of their errors. I would wish him to look with a large forgiveness at men's ideas and prejudices, which are by no means the outcome of malevolence, but depend on their education, their social status, even their professions.” And again “Let him mature the strength of his imagination amongst the things of this earth, which it is his business to cherish and know, and refrain

from calling down his inspiration ready-made from some heaven of perfections of which he knows nothing."

My own feelings are best expressed in the language of Ghalib:—

آزادہ رو ہوں - اور مبرا مسلک ہی صلح تل
 ہو۔۔۔ ابھی کسی سے عداوت نہیں مجھے
 مقطع میں آج ہی سخن گستاخانہ بات
 مقصود اس سے قطع محبت نہیں مجھے
 صادق ہوں اپنے قول پہ غالب خدا دہواہ
 کہتا ہوں سہ ماہ دھوٹا، عادت نہیں مجھے

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE LEGEND OF YIMA

(REJOINDERS TO DR. ABINASCHANDRA DAS)

I

In the February issue of the *Calcutta Review* Dr. Das has raised certain objections to my article on the "Legend of Yima" which had appeared in the December number of last year. I propose to deal very briefly with the points raised by Dr. Das.

1. In the first paragraph (p. 350 of the Review) he wants to know whether the Vara was an enclosure or "the biggest building ever constructed on Earth." I have clearly stated (Dec. issue, p. 368, footnote 2) that the *vara* was "below the earth", i.e. *underground*. Perhaps the term "enclosure" used for the word *vara* has misled the learned Doctor. The fact that the sun and stars could be *seen* in from the *vara* merely implies that there must have been some communication possible with the outer surface. As to how the plants and animals grew there and how the waters flowed, all this is quite beside the point. The matter is certainly not mentioned in any detail in any of the Zoroastrian books that I am aware of. In any case it does not at all affect the argument about the position of the *vara*. Dr. Das argues quite *a priori* that Airyana Vaējō was not at the same spot where the *vara* was to be constructed. Is it possible that Airyana Vaējō was in the south "not far off from Sapta Sindhu" and that Yima migrated thence to the North Pole to escape the ice of the glacial period? And why he should migrate during the Inter-glacial period passes my understanding. No reasonable person can hold this view. Certainly there is no geological record which states that the Sapta Sindhu was ever covered under glacial ice. And then again Dr. Das has apparently not read carefully through the second chapter of the *Vendidad*. If he had done so he would have seen that the whole of this narrative was addressed to Zarathushtra, not to Yima-Zarathushtra lived ages after Yima and so things had to be told to him in detail.

2. Dr. Das had not touched my other arguments from the Avesta regarding the Polar home of the Aryas except that with reference the disposal of the dead. Here also his arguments are *a priori*; he says "there were only two marked seasons in the land; but the first part of winter which

followed the hot days of summer, was probably rainy." (Feb issue, p. 353). And he argues that the arrangements made to keep the dead body "for two nights, three nights or a month long" were meant as against the rain and owing to the sun being behind the clouds. It would have been exceedingly easy for Dr. Das to have found out that the Zoroastrians never have postponed funeral ceremonies on account of rain or clouds. Only the absence of the sun (not its mere hiding behind the clouds) could warrant keeping such a contamination as a dead body within a house. I take "two nights, three nights or a month long" to apply to all places within the Arctic circle. Dr. Das says (p. 374) "the contingency of clouds concealing the sun for three days does not seem to have struck Mr. Tilak at all": most certainly it did not, nor would it strike any one who was in the least acquainted with Zoroastrian customs either modern or ancient.

I J S TARAPOREWALA

II

Dr. Abinashchandra Das has replied in the February 1922 number of the *Calcutta Review* to Dr. Taraporewala's article in the December 1921 issue of the same journal on "The Legend of Yima". The reply consists practically of only two quotations from Dr. Das's own book, "Rig-Vedic India," and no other new matter is given. Every unbiassed reader is constrained to feel that Dr. Das has not succeeded in refuting Dr. Taraporewala's arguments.

The original passage in the Avesta, where Ahura Mazdā advises Yima to build a *vava* (Vendidād, II 25), has absolutely nothing which can make one conclude that the *vava* was to be built in a country different from that in which Yima lived. One would therefore naturally think that it was in Airyana Vaēja itself. Dr. Das could not suppose this as he had a pre-conceived notion in his mind. Not only that, he also contends that as Ahura Mazda described the nature of light in that region, Yima could not have been already acquainted with the place, hence the *vava* was in a different country. He has said in his "Rig-Vedic India" (Vol. I p. 550,) "Yima, not knowing anything about the nature and physical conditions of

this new country where he was advised to go, naturally asked Ahura Mazda about the lights, both created and uncreated, that were to be found there. To this query, the latter replied that in the Vara, the sun, the moon, and the stars 'rose but once a year' and that 'a year seemed only as a day' to the inhabitants thereof." But unfortunately, the query in the 39th verse of the Second Fargard of the Vendidad is by Zarathushtra and not by Yima. The question, beginning *dātaregāēthanam as'ntinam ashāum*, and the concluding *yō Yimō kereuat* fully establish this. The 40th verse is thus in answer to the question of Zarathushtra. Dr. Abinash-chandra Das should have noted that the Second Fargard of the Vendidad contained a dialogue between Zarathushtra and Ahura Mazda. The former asks "with which of the mortals didst thou first converse beside me?" and the latter mentions Yima and relates his story. In the course of the story whenever Ahura Mazda says anything to Yima, he reports it to Zarathushtra as "I said", as in *āt hē mraom Zarathushtra azem yō Ahurō Mazdāo*, i.e., "Then said I to him, O Zarathushtra, I, who am Ahura Mazda" (verse 4). But the expression in the 40th verse is *āt asyōtha Ahurō Mazdāo*, i.e., "Then said Ahura Mazdā." Thus Dr. Das's contention that the *vara* was not in Airyana Vaēja is absolutely groundless. Dr. Das has brought forward some difficulties in supposing that the *vara* escaped the destructive flood which devastated the rest of the land. But these need not be seriously considered for no sensible man would in these days believe that every particular in the legends of Yima's *vara* or Noah's Ark or Manu's Boat is true history. Dr. Das referred the reader to his book but has not answered the new arguments advanced by Dr. Taraporewala on the basis of Vendidad, I, 2-1, Yasht X, 101 and Vendidad, II, 19.

It will thus appear that Dr. Das's rejoinder has not been successful. I shall now try to show that the main thesis of his book "Rig-Vedic India" is as groundless. It appears to me that his thesis is based on what he understands to be the meaning of

ekā-velat sarasvatī nadīm

sārgatā girībhyā ā samudrā (RV, VII, 95, 2).

He contends ("Rig-Vedic India," pp. 7 ff.) that as the Sarasvatī is thus said to flow into the sea, the seer must have lived in a geological epoch when our *Sarasvati* emptied itself in the Rajputana Sea (in the Tertiary epoch). But how does Dr. Das know that the Sarasvatī of this

mantra is "our Sarasvati"? Any one who reads this passage with reference to its context will find it difficult to doubt that the Sarasvati of this hymn is the Indus. It is a very dangerous thing to base arguments on stray passages dissociated from their context. I therefore quote in extenso the first two *mantras*:

prā kṣōdasā dhāṃyāsā sasarā eṣā
Sārasvatī dharūṇam āyasi pūh
prabābadhānā rathyēra yāti
rīsrā apō mahinā sindhuranāh (1)
ēka-cetāt Sārasvatī madīām
sūcī yati girībhyā ā samudrāt
cūyās cētātī bhuvāṇsya bhūvēr
ghṛtām pāyo dadāho nāhrānā (2)

The translation of the first *mantra* according to Sāyana would be, "This Sarasvatī, a strong citadel of metal, runs with its sustaining waters; and rushes on like a thoroughfare pushing on amain before her by her great power all the other rivers." *prabābadhānā* cannot mean "outstripping" as proposed by Dr. Das on p. 72 of his book. From this *mantra* it is evident that this Sarasvatī was a mighty river which received the waters of other tributary streams. This mighty river therefore must necessarily be the Indus. V. G. Bijāpūrkar in his edition of the Bombay University B.A. Selections from the R̥gveda (*R̥gvedānukāha*) has identified it with the Indus (p. 102). So also did the late Professor Dr. Hermann Oldenberg in his *R̥gveda (textkritische und exegetische Noten)* (Vol. II, p. 63) on the authority of Hillebrandt. Macdonell in his *Vedic Mythology*, p. 87, writes, "There has been much controversy as to the identity of the stream of which our goddess Sarasvatī is a personification. The name is identical with that of the Avestan river Haraqaiti in Afghanistan and it may have been the latter river which was first lauded as the Sarasvatī. But Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, and Zimmer are of opinion, that in the R̥gveda Sarasvatī usually and originally meant a mighty stream, probably the Indus (Sarasvatī being the sacred and Sindhu the secular name), but that it occasionally designates the small stream in the Madhyadesa, to which both its name and sacred character were in later times transferred." This completely demolishes the theory of Dr. Das. In RV., VII. 95, 1d,

anyā vīsrā apāh: can mean only the tributaries of the rivers and these are obviously the famous rivers of the Punjab. In confirmation of this identification I quote a *mantra* in the *Uājasaneyya Saṁhitā* "seen" by Gṛtsamada the author of the major portion of the Second *Maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda Saṁhitā*, which runs

pāñca nadyāḥ Śarasvatīm ānyanti śāsrotasah

Śarasvatī tu pañcadhā sū deśe 'bharat sarit' (34, 11)

i.e. "Five rivers reach the Sarasvatī with their streams and the Sarasvatī has become a fivefold river in that land" All students of the *Nighaṇṭu* know that in the list of words meaning "rivers" (*Nigh.*, I, 12) *śarasvatyaḥ* is one. Another word in the same list which would be interesting is *śārasvatyaḥ* on account of its correspondence with the Avestic *š haravati*. It is a pity Dr. Abinashchandra Das did not take the trouble of making himself thoroughly familiar with the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta*. Had he done this, he would have been further saved from statements like "All the ancient Vedic commentators from Yāska, Sākāpunī, Ournanāva (?) and Durgāchārya." (p. 550). "Ournanāva's commentary of the Rig-Veda" and "Durgāchārya's commentary of the Rig-Veda", given as bibliography on page 576, take one by surprise.

The only word in RV., VIII. 95. 1 whose meaning is not beyond doubt is *rathyaḥ*. Sāyaṇa paraphrases, *pratolīya vistīrṇā satī pratolī* means a main road. The sense in this case would probably be "as lanes lead to the main road so do all streams flow into the Sarasvatī. Peterson in his *Second Selection of Hymns from the Rig Veda* (pp 257-258) gives a different interpretation as proposed by Roth, taking *rathyaḥ* to mean the car that travels along the road. Oidenberg in his *Rgveda*, cited above, refers to RV., III. 36. 6 and to an article by himself in the *Z. D. M. G.* for a solution of its meaning. In III. 36. 6 sāyaṇa takes *rathyaḥ* to mean *rathina ira*; Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda* (column 1141, first line) takes it there as instrumental singular of *rathī* but he gives the word the same meaning (a charioteer) which Sāyaṇa has done. Sāyaṇa proposes in RV., VII. 95. 1 an alternative interpretation of *rathina ira*. Whichever may be the true meaning here, the question of the identification of the Sarasvatī is not altered in any way.

I have also failed to see what would have been really gained by Dr. Das if the Sarasvatī were "our Sarsuti". For this latter river once did reach the sea through the Sutlej and the Indus. About this later

Sarasvatī (Sarsuti) Macdonell writes, "According to Oldham a survey of ancient river-beds affords evidence that the Sarasvatī was originally a tributary of the Śutudrī (the modern Sutlej) and that when the latter left its old bed and joined the Vipāś, the Sarasvatī continued to flow in the old bed of the Śutudrī." (*Vedic Mythology*, Compare also Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 142, pp. 87-88). Dr. Das has not given us his authority for the statement in his book in page 7, lines 29-31. Thus the Rajputana Sea cannot in any case be the *samudra* into which the *Sarasvatī* of RV., VII. 95 flowed.

I have an additional ground for believing that the *Sarasvatī* of that hymn was none but the Indus and that is the reference to *Sarasvān* in *mantra* 3. The hymn consists of six *mantras* of which all but the third are addressed to *Sarasvatī*: the *anukramanikā* refers the third to *Sarasvatī*. Who is this *Sarasvān*? Sāyana says he is *madhyasthāno rājanyā*. But one fails to understand what would make the Seer refer (and that too in the middle) to the "Air of the Middle region" when addressing *Sarasvatī*. I propose to take it to mean the lower part of the Indus, the part from where the five rivers of the Punjab join her to her mouth. The third *mantra* is

śá vārrdho náryo yóṣṭmāsu
 vṛśā śísar vrsabho gayjñīyāsu
 so vāṇanam maghā'adbbho dahidāt
 vi sātáye tanvám māmṛjta (3)

which can be translated as—"that beneficent (or brave) child became a potent bull (or Saturer) and increased when the sacrificial damsels (reached him) He gives *vāṇas* to the worshippers and chastens their body for their benefit." The 'sacrificial damsels' are probably the five rivers whose waters are serviceable for sacrificial purposes. Sāyana writes, *gayjñīyāsu gayjñārkhāsu yosāṇāsu yosātsu ātmanah kalatrabhūtāsu madhyasthānāsu apsu madhye varṣdhe vardhate*. So, my rendering 'the Punjab river' is not altogether impossible. *vāṇanam* I have left untranslated. Sāyana paraphrases it by *balivānam putram* (a brave son). Similarly also Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch* (1255). But may I suggest "a horse"? The word *vājīn* can mean a horse (cf. *Nigh.* I. 14 and Grassmann, 1254). We know that Sindh has always been famous for good horses. Thus the *Sarasvatī* of the third *mantra* is probably the part of the Indus flowing through Sindh. The Indus has been known in later times as the

Sindhu:nada (mas). If 'Sarasvatī' can mean a *nadī*, 'Sarasvān' can mean a *nada*. We know that in the Punjab there is many a river whose one part is known by one name and the other by another, and that of these two names one is in the masculine gender and the other in the feminine. I would refer my readers to Sir A. Stein's article in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* on "River-names in the Rig-Veda." Thus the seer refers to the tributaries of the Indus in the first *mantra*, to its oceanic flight in the second and to its very broad course near its mouth in the third and there is no *prakramabhāṅga*.

Dr. Das has also cited some other Vedic passages in support of his theory. They too are unconvincing. I shall here comment on one of these passages. Dr. Das sees in RV., X. 136. 6 a reference to the Eastern and the Western seas and he at once jumps to the conclusion that this proves the existence of the Rajputana Sea at the time (p. 10 of his book). But how that conclusion can be arrived at is more than one can understand. His Eastern Sea as given in his map is nothing but a portion of the Southern Sea! "From the Eastern Sea to the Western" would then mean "along the Southern Sea"! It is a very convenient arrangement to put down one part of the southern boundary as South, another as East and a third as West (p. 12). One only wonders that the Northern Sea too is not placed somewhere there! Further is the learned Doctor aware that *samedra* in the RV., X. 136. 6 as in most of the other passages cited in page 11, can mean "the sky" and not "the sea" and that in *Aṅghaṭṭa* I, 3, *samedraś* is read as a synonym for 'sky'? Yāska, the commentator of the *Aṅghaṭṭa* has a very lengthy note on the word (*Nirukta*, II 10-II 12) *samedra* originally meant only a "great expanse of water," then in state of the consternation of Dr. Das (*Itig-Vedic India*, p. 3) a rain-bearing cloud, and by extension of meaning the sky which looked like a great sheet of water and also contained those clouds and the word came to be exclusively used in the sense of the sea only at the last stage. *It is very dangerous to carry in one's mind the associations of tale usage when reading old texts.* Besides, the sun rising from the Eastern Sea and going down in the Western cannot prove a contemporary Rajputana Sea, for it is only a man in mid-ocean that can thus see the sun rising up from and going down into the sea. A man on the coast would never see this and a man in an ocean boat *in any sea* (whether in Rajputana or south of Sindh, when the Rajputana Sea had dried up) would notice such a phenomenon.

Dr. Das has tried (p. 12) to make much capital out of the mention in the Rg-Veda of "the Four Seas". In answer to this, one feels tempted

to ask, "The *Purāṇas* and Kālidāsa's *Kumāra Sambharam* mention the four seas, are we therefore to put them in the Miocene or Pliocene Epoch?" Many nations formerly conceived the Earth as surrounded on all sides by water. How is the Vedic mention of four seas on all the four sides different from that?

It thus appears that the Vedic portion of Dr. Das's theory (which is from the point of view of the establishing of his thesis, the more important one) is very shaky. Not being a student of geology I could not form any estimate of the value of the geological portion but I am sure that that portion is all right. I cannot, however, help remarking that I could not gather from the geological authorities quoted in his Appendix (B) to Chapter VI that in the Miocene or Pliocene Age such very cultured people could live in the Punjab (or for that matter anywhere in the world) as the Vedic Aryans undoubtedly were. A rough basket or two of human workmanship of the Miocene or Pliocene Age does not necessarily prove the existence of civilised man. Dr. Das has said, "It is within the bounds of possibility that man appeared in India in the Miocene Epoch, though it is extremely doubtful that he attained the high degree of civilisation ascribed to him in the Rig-Veda, unless we assume that the evolution of man in India was earlier and more rapid than that of man in other parts of the Globe. The geographical distribution of land and water in India in the Miocene and Pliocene Epochs agrees to a very large extent with the description of land and water in the Rig-Veda, which emboldens us to surmise that Pliocene man, at any rate, attained a comparatively high degree of civilisation in Sapta-Sindhu, as depicted in some of the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda. It will surely be regarded as a very bold surmise, but we are forced to it by the irresistible evidence found in the Rig-Veda." (p. 114). But I have shown how "irresistible" some of this "evidence" is; the other evidence I could not touch upon, as in doing so I would have to write a whole volume. To conclude, whatever may be the value of the geological facts marshalled by Dr. Abinashchandra Das, the Rgveda Saṁhitā refuses to fit in with them.

KSHETREŚACHANDRA CHATTOPĀDHYAYA

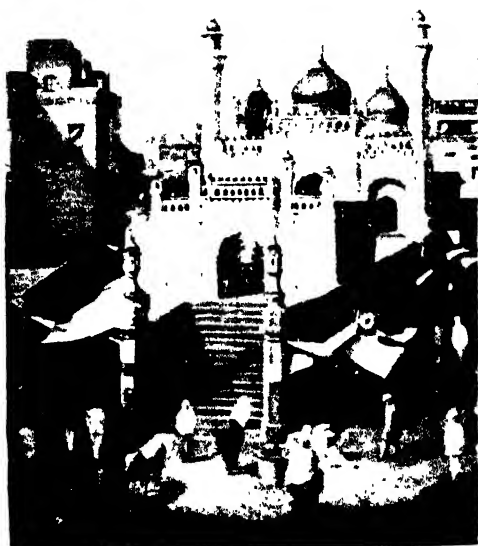
LAHORE OF TO-DAY



Railway Church



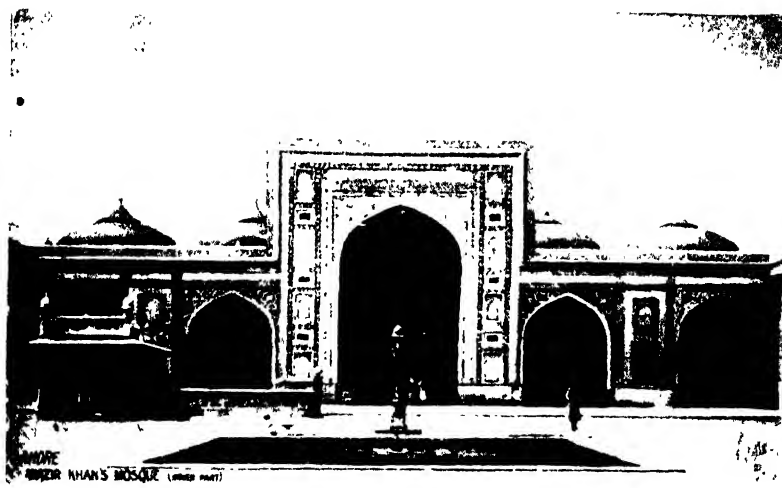
Shalimar Garden



Golden Mosque



Central Museum



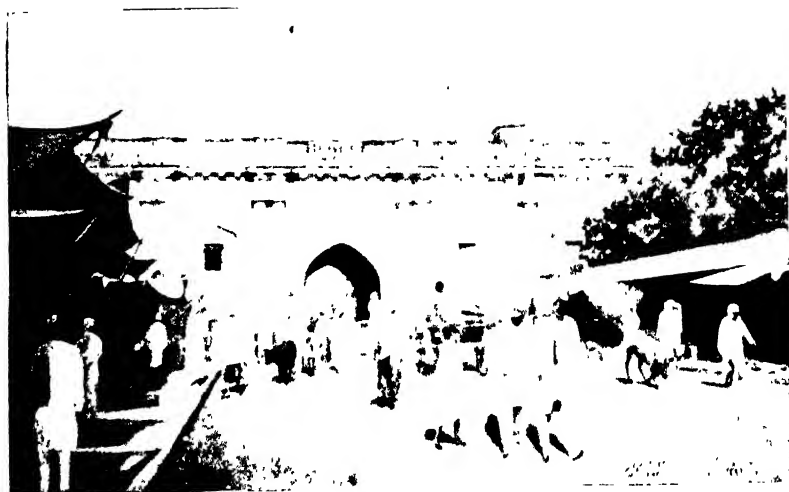
Wazir Khan's Mosque



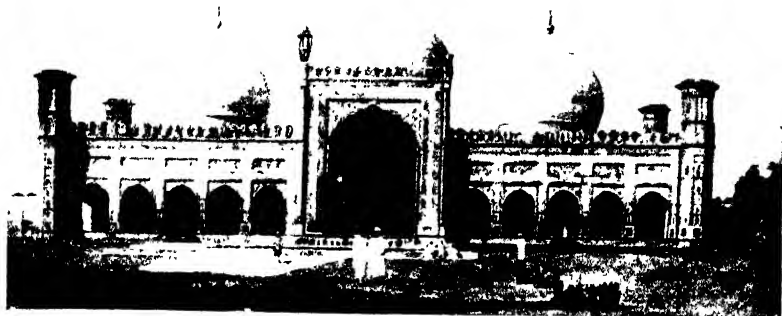
Wazir Khan's Mosque



High Court, Lahore



Delhi Gate



Royal Mosque



Roman Catholic Cathedral



Punjab Club



General Post Office, Lahore

RABINDRANATH'S "FESTIVAL"

(*A Translation*)

The truth which our self-interest always makes us forget,—the undivided truth,—we must acknowledge on the special day of the festival: that is to say, soul must be joined with soul on the occasion of a festival. There can be no festival in which only one man takes part. In fact, when we look upon all things in the universe in their isolation, we miss the truth; for then every isolated thing, every isolated event draws our attention separately. This isolated view increases at every step our difficulties, so that we lose all happiness. And this is the reason why we obtain no sense of fullness, or satisfaction, in our everyday selfishness and isolation. We do not get the whole significance of life, we miss its tune,—its final truth remains unrevealed to us. But then comes a moment when we look at the different fragments in their unity; at that very moment, in that very union, we realise the truth, and this realisation is our bliss. Then it is that we perceive, —

•

“What a festival is thine in the universe! The world hails
The Bounteous and seeks refuge therein.”

This is why I was saying, “Festival is not for one man.” In union alone is there any manifestation of truth,—and the fullness of the festival lies in perceiving the truth through union. It is only when we realise in the universe, what we try to perceive through meditation in our isolated self, that our perception is complete.

The truth which is in union, is not only knowledge, but bliss; it is feeling, it is love. It is not partial but total; for it not only fills the intellect but also the heart. He who

draws us all from the four corners of the world towards one common goal, under the shadow of whose wings, we place ourselves, is not a dry truth, but Love. This Love it is, that is the goddess of the festival,—it is union that is its living, conscious its temple.

The force that is in union, the truth that is in love, we realize at every step in this world. If there is anything, which can wholly overcome fear, defy danger, think lightly of loss, ignore death, it is love. It is love which tears asunder the net woven by selfishness, which we have learnt to look upon as a hard reality. The unfortunate people who cannot unite in happiness and misery, in prosperity and adversity, have lost all sense of well-being, because they have missed the greatest truth in this world. They do not know how to sacrifice and, therefore, they have not learnt how to gain. They cannot lay down their lives, and therefore they have lived in vain. They move about in the world, weighed down by fear and crushed by insults, crawling meekly on all fours. What is the reason of this? The reason is that they do not get at truth; they do not obtain love, and hence they do not feel strong. In proportion as we realize truth, in that proportion we are able to pay a price for it. To the extent to which a man looks upon his brother as a truth, to that extent precisely can he make sacrifices for him. If we did not sufficiently realise the truth of the land and water that surrounded us, the people in the midst of whom we were thrown, we could not sacrifice ourselves for these.

Therefore I say that it is only when truth manifests itself in our heart as love that its manifestation is perfect. It is then that we are freed from the pain of death, from the bondage of self-interest, from the fear of loss. It is then that our soul finds in this unstable universe such a final stable ideal that we can unhesitatingly place our whole fortune upon it.

It is for the sake of obtaining at times this pleasure of stability, this taste of love in the midst of daily distractions

that we invite men to gather together at a festival. On a day of festival our conduct becomes just the opposite of our everyday conduct. On that day one man's home becomes everyman's home, one man's wealth becomes everybody's wealth. On that day, the rich respect the poor, the learned man respects the ignorant. For kinsman and stranger, rich and poor, the learned and the ignorant are all held together by one common bond of love,—this is the final truth, the realisation of which is final bliss. He who is denied this realisation has to turn away with an empty hand just at the moment when the whole wealth of the festival is within his reach.

“सत्यं ब्रह्म मनन्तं ब्रह्म”—Brahman is the emblem of truth, and knowledge and infinity. But how does this intelligible eternal truth manifest itself? “आनन्दरूपममृतं यदि भाति”—He manifests Himself as the Blissful, as the Deathless; whatever appears is His bliss, His deathless form, that is, His love. The entire universe is His deathless bliss, His love!

The fullness of truth is in manifestation,—it is love, it is bliss. In our everyday affairs we have seen that the incomplete truth is indistinct. We have also seen that the more completely we realise a truth, the more we obtain happiness, the more we obtain love. For the man who takes no interest in the vegetable kingdom around him, there is no pleasure in a blade of grass; for him it is insignificant. But to the botanist it affords much delight, for him it has a deep significance—he knows that the truth of the grass is not insignificant in the vegetable kingdom. He who knows how to look at it with his spiritual vision—for him the pleasure it gives is fuller still,—for Him the manifestation of the Universe is reflected in that of a blade of grass. It is because the truth of this is not a small truth, an indistinct truth, that it kindles his happiness, his love. The man whose truth appears to me small or indistinct, cannot kindle love in my heart. The man whom I know as so much truth that I can sacrifice my life for him, can awaken my happiness, my love. My interests are

so much more true to me than the interests of others, that I feel no pleasure in the realisation of others' interests. But for Lord Buddha every creature was such a distinct truth, that he renounced the world in order that he might devote his life to thoughts about its welfare.

For this reason I say that it is from bliss that truth takes its rise and it is in truth that bliss has its origin. **आनन्दाद्यैव-
रबस्त्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते**—“Whatever exists has its origin in bliss.” Therefore, so long as this world does not appear to me in the form of bliss in the form of love, it is not revealed as a complete truth. It is our bliss, it is our love, which is the realisation of truth in this world. The world exists,—this much truth is nothing. But that the world is bliss,—this truth is complete. How does bliss manifest itself? In plenitude, in wealth, in beauty. In the world's manifestation there is nowhere any poverty or miserliness; there is no sticking to what is absolutely necessary. Look at the phenomenon of innumerable streams of light shooting out of millions of stars; what they touch glows with colour, heat, life. This is an example of the plenitude of bliss. It is far in excess of what is necessary,—it is extravagant. The madness that we see in the spring in the shooting forth of buds from every joint of a tree or shrub, in the blossoming of flowers, in the sprouting of leaves and the riotous waste that we notice in the falling of the mango blossoms in big heaps at the foot of the tree, all this is the plenitude of bliss. The riot of colour at sunrise or sunset serves no purpose,—it is an example of the plenitude of bliss. In the morning, when the ecstasy of music coming from the songs of hundreds of birds makes one feel as if a festival of song is being celebrated in the radiant sky, we get what is in excess of our needs, we have the plenitude of bliss. Bliss is generous, bliss is prodigal,—in beauty, in wealth, Bliss, in trying to give itself up completely, finds no limit.

On the occasion of the festival, the truth for whose sake we assemble in large numbers, is bliss, love. At a festival,

one man has no need of another,—a festival is concerned with that which is above all need. For this reason the chief mark of a festival is abundance. Therefore we abandon our daily miserliness. The strict economies, which we practise every-day, we give up on this occasion. There are many days of poverty ; to-day is a day of prosperity.

To-day is a day of beauty. Beauty also transcends necessity. It is not a manifestation of necessity, but of bliss,—it is the language of love! Even if the flower was not beautiful, it would still be an object of my knowledge, of my senses. But the beauty of which the flower gives me a taste is an extra gift. This extra gift receives from me an extra return,—this 'extra return is love. For more utility, this extra return is a matter of indifference to me and to everybody. But it is with this extra beauty on the one hand, and this extra love on the other, that we have the daily festival of the universe—it is this which is the play of the waves on the ocean of bliss.

For this reason the day of the festival is a day of beauty. We decorate this day with leaves and flowers, illumine it with lamps, sweeten it with music.

Thus, through the union of souls, through plenitude, through beauty, we make the occasion of the festival the crown, as it were, of the ordinary days of the year. On the day of the festival we become full with the fulness that comes out of the realisation of Him who in His plenitude, wealth and beauty manifests Himself in the universe as the deathless—*आनन्दरूपममृतं यद्विभाति*—and our manhood shakes off all its temporary poverty that circumstances have imposed upon it and realises in the gladness of love, the supreme bliss of the eternal, wealth and beauty of the soul. On this day, it feels that it is not small, that it is not isolated, but that the universe is its abode, truth its refuge, love its final destination and everybody its kinsman—that forgiveness is its nature, sacrifice comes easily to it and death is non-existent for it.

It is hardly necessary to say that the preparations for the festival are not so difficult as its realisation. When the festival blossoms forth like the thousand-petalled lotus, how many are there among us who can steep themselves in its honey like the bee? Even on this day, we convert an assembly into a crowd, preparations into an empty display. Even on this day, idle curiosity makes our heart lose itself in dissipation. Have we lighted lamps in our courtyard and joined our joy to the exuberance of mirth that is ever flowing in the firmament, in every flame of the infinite starry realm? Does this music take us into the innermost sanctuary of the world,—where all the notes of the universe reconcile their discord and disharmony and realise their full melody?

How can he who is always a pauper suddenly cast off his poverty on one particular day? How can he who is denied everybody the perception of beauty suddenly sit on the same platform with the beautiful? This festival is a festival for him only who is everyday prepared to receive truth and love.

O, thou Presiding Deity of this World-Festival! Who am I? Have I any right to sit where I am sitting? The boat of life which I have been rowing everyday, has it reached thy golden river bank? Has it only one impediment to overcome? Could it resist the onslaught of hostile waves? O, thou who dwellest within us, how is it that my soul which has invited everybody to thy festival, suddenly feels ashamed to appear before thee? Forgive it and send thine own invitation. Invite it, not one day but everyday. Turn it away, turn it away, from self-glory! Save it from the insult of weak impulses! Suffer it not to be lost in the tangled meshes of the intellect! Draw it into thy world of life, of joy, and of beauty and stamp out its accumulated poverty!

Those great souls whom thou hast invited to thy daily festival, those who sit daily at the feast of joy—let my soul with bowed head take the dust of the feet of these! Remove this very day its idle boast, its vain effort, its dissipated im-

pulses,—see that it becomes fit to-morrow to sit on the dust below thy seat. There shall it be able to listen to the great music of thy festive meeting, there even the dust shall be consecrated by the joyous stream of thy festival !

But where there is haughtiness, where there is strife and discord, struggle for power and for fame, where even good things are done through greed and arrogance, where holy deeds end only in the practice of routine ritual,—there everything is veiled, everything is closed, there even a little thing appears big, there thy invitation to the world banquet is declined with a scornful smile. There thy generous air supplies only breath, but cannot let the universal breath breathe through the heart. Rescue it from the stone walls of this haughty prison—let it throw itself upon the dust of thy festive courtyard. No matter whether nobody knows it or respects it, let it know thee, let it follow thee.

I know not—for it is only thou who knowest—when it will have the fortune of being made by thee fit to be invited to thy festival,—for the present its only request is, that this prayer may become a reality in its heart—May I truly desire the truth, may I not insult the deathless, by a supplication that ends in mere words!

SRISHIR KUMAR MAITRA

ENTOMOLOGY IN INDIA

"A king of France, when travelling in Catalonia, discovered an ancient man engaged unremittingly in the planting of date kernels. 'Why,' he asked, 'do you sow the seeds of a tree of such tardy growth, seeing that the dates will not ripen till a hundred years be passed?' 'Am I not then,' replied the other, 'eating the fruit of trees planted by my forefathers who took thought for those who were to come?' Why, therefore, should I not do like unto them?"—*Travels of the Bohemian Her, Lord Rezsut: and Blatna, in Western Europe* (1465-1467).

The insects of India have attracted the attention of the learned from very early times. I have not the linguistic attainments to discuss the mention of various insects in ancient Sanskrit works. Suffice to say that insects such as the *pipîlikās* or ants and the *matachî*, a devastator of crops in ancient India, which has been identified by Dr. Bhandarkar as a locust, is mentioned in Sanskrit works written several hundred years before Christ, such as the Vedas. Indeed, as Dr. Brajendranath Seal has shown in his *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, long before the time of Alexander and Aristotle the Sanskrit authors had the elements of a classification of animals and plants. The physician Suśruta and those before him based their classification on the mode of reproduction, and I think this held good till the time of Umāsvati, who in the Jaina work *Tattrāiṭhādhiḡma* (circa 40 A.D.) proposed a classification by series, the number of senses possessed by the animal being taken to determine its place in the series. The Vertebrates, however, were subdivided according to the manner in which reproduction takes place. Anyone who reads Dr. Seal's account of Umāsvati's classification will be struck with the resemblance of its divisions to that of a modern zoological classification.

The Greeks and the Romans have also had something to say of Indian insects. Ktésias the Knidian, the first writer to give the Greeks a treatise on India, writing

about 400 B.C. speaks of trees covered with amber (electron) and remarks that insects are found with it that yield a red-dye. This electron or amber of Ktésias was certainly shellac and the insects associated with it lac-insects. Pliny mentions this and so does Aelian, who also writes of an insect called the *dikairon*, to the dung of which he attributes the properties of an opiate and a poison. This has been identified by Dr. V. Ball as the dung-beetle.

The ancients sometimes wrote of phenomena caused by insects without knowing it. For instance, Aelian says that "in India, and more especially in the country of the Prasians (the people of northern Bengal and of Bihar) liquid honey falls like rain upon the herbage and the leaves of marsh-reeds, and supplies sheep and oxen with an admirable kind of nutriment, the exceeding sweetness of which the animals highly relish. Now the herdsmen drive them to those spots where this delicious dew falls and lies, and the cattle in return supply the herdsmen with a delicious repast, for they yield a very sweet milk which does not require honey to be mixed with it as is done in Greece." Polyainos also speaks of cakes placed on the table of the king of Persia made of 'honey that fell in rain' and Nonnos says that in Arigantia of India a dew of honey lies on the leaves of trees in the morning. This aerial honey, as the Greeks call it, was probably the same as the manna with which the Israelites were fed in the wilderness. Manna has been thought by some to be a lichen and by others a vegetable secretion, but is now generally considered to be the secretion of a scale-insect. Ealand in his *Insects and Man* tells us that "an Englishman, Hardwick, while travelling in Persia, discovered the insect, which he called *Chermes mannifer*;" and, a little later, Ehrenberg found the insects on tamarisk, growing near Mount Sinai and at the same time saw their secretion, which closely resembled honey in appearance, and was known to the Arabs as 'man'. According to the latter authority, the manna insects,

which are now known to science as *Gossyparia mannifera*, infested the smaller branches of *Tamarix gallica* in large numbers, sucked up sap in quantity, and exuded manna in the form of a sugary secretion which in the cool of the evening, fell to the ground in solid form, but, after sunrise, melted and percolated into the soil." Little is known about this insect and nowadays the secretion is not sufficiently abundant to make it of any commercial value

The writings on insects of the ancients are sometimes wonderfully accurate, but are often the result of mere superstition, as those who have read Virgil's *Georgics*, to mention only a single work, know. I may quote as an example of their superstition the famous story of Megasthenes and Herodotus of the gold-digging ants of India which have been identified with Thibetan gold miners, and it may be added, their dogs! The Hindus, the Greeks and the Romans may have laid the foundation of Zoology and its immense branch, entomology, but to-day their records have little more than an historical interest and we need not consider them further here. Let us proceed to work done in India in more recent times.

Early in the seventeenth century, when entomology was just beginning to develop in Europe, Robert Knox, his father and fourteen others were captured off the coast of Madras and taken to Kandy in Ceylon, which was at that time under Singha II. During his captivity Knox learnt much of the characteristics of the country, and when after twenty years he managed to effect his escape, he published in 1681 his *Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies*. In this work "the Beasts, Tame and Wild, and Insects" are discussed in the sixth chapter, and many careful observations on the ants and "white-ants" and the honey-bees are recorded.

About the middle of the nineteenth century that the entomologist Nietner did valuable work in Ceylon, but it was not until several years later that any monographic work of real merit was achieved. The publication of Frederick

Moore's great work *The Lepidoptera of Ceylon* between the years 1880 and 1887, and E. E. Green's *Coccidae of Ceylon*, the first part of which appeared in 1896, marked an epoch in the entomological history of Ceylon. In 1904, the serial *Spolia Zeylanica*, started by the Colombo Museum was first published and has continued to flourish and is now recognised as one of the most important natural history journals in the East. It contains many papers of entomological importance.

In India the first work done was in the South. James Anderson, who was appointed Physician-General of Madras in 1786, carried out some experiments on indigenous "Cochineal" insects, and the botanist J. G. Koenig, a friend of Anderson and a pupil of the great Linnaeus, wrote a paper on termites which Mr. T. Bainbrigge—Fletcher has recently reproduced in the *Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth Entomological Meeting*, Pusa, 1921, with a short biography of the author. It is probable that Koenig collected the large series of insects from Tranquebar which J. C. Fabricius described. In the latter half of the eighteenth century hundreds of insects, principally from South India, were described by Linnaeus, Fabricius, Cramer, Drury and others.

It was not until 1800, however, that the first monographic work appeared. This was E. Donovan's *Natural History of the Insects of India*, a revised edition of which, edited by J. O. Westwood, appeared in 1842. Westwood, however, maintained that many of the insects described therein belonged to the East Indies rather than to India and some even to the West Indies.

Forty years after the first publication of Donovan's work the Rev. F. W. Hope published in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, XII, pp. 105-12, a paper entitled "On the Entomology of the Himalayas and of India" with descriptions of insects by J. O. Westwood on pp. 129-136. In 1842 Hope also read to the Linnaean Society two papers on rare and beautiful insects from Sylhet.

Donovan's work and Westwood's *Cabinet of Oriental Entomology* gave a great impetus to the study of insects in India, and the coming of men like Wood-Mason, Marshall, De Nicéville, Bingham, Swinhoe, Moore and the inimitable Aitken in the latter part of the nineteenth century established the future success of entomology in this country.

J. Wood-Mason was Superintendent of the Natural History Section of the Indian Museum from 1869 to 1893, during which period he contributed to nearly every branch of zoology. His most important contributions to entomology were on the cockroaches, soothsayers, stick-insects, leaf-insects and on the butterflies, wherein he had the able co-operation of Mr. Lionel De Nicéville. His papers on the Mantidae were mainly contributed to the *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* and to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, at that time perhaps the only medium for the publication of zoological papers in India. Wood-Mason and De Nicéville's series of papers on the butterflies of the Andamans, the Nicobars and of Cachar also appeared in this Journal. It was unfortunate for Indian entomology that Wood-Mason never lived to complete his *Catalogue of the Mantoidea in the Indian Museum*, a part of which was published by the Trustees in 1889.

The work which established the fame of De Nicéville is known to every lepidopterist as *The Butterflies of India, Burmah and Ceylon*, the first volume of which was written in collaboration with Major G. F. L. Marshall, known to ornithologists as the part author of a monograph on barbets. Both De Nicéville and Marshall contributed many papers to the Asiatic Society's Journal and to the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* and to European publications.

The Bombay Natural History Society was founded in 1883 by eight residents of Bombay. In 1886 they issued the

first number of their Journal, the object being to "stimulate lovers of Nature to record and communicate their observations." This Journal is recognised to-day as the best periodical in India for the publication of short notes on Natural History, and for papers both scientific and popular on subjects likely to interest the amateur naturalist or sportsman. Even to those who are professional scientists it is of great value. In the past, as in the present, the society included amongst its members some of the most famous scientists in India. E. H. Aitken ("EHA"), known to many as the author of *Behind the Bungalow*, *The Tribes on my Frontier*, and *A Naturalist on the Prowl*, was the joint editor of the first few numbers and one of the most constant contributors to the Society's Journal.

The *Indian Museum Notes* was started in 1889 as "Notes on Indian Insect Pests" under the editorship of E. C. Cotes and continued till 1903, the last volume being edited by De Nicéville. This journal contains many notes and articles of importance to entomologists, especially to those working on the economic aspect of the subject. Some of the most famous scientists in Europe contributed to the publication, while of Indian contributors I may mention E. E. Green, L. De Nicéville, C. T. Bingham, F. Swinhoe, G. C. Dudgeon, F. Moore, S. Barlow, S. E. Peal, E. T. Atkinson. Cotes himself and others. A monument to Mr. E. T. Atkinson's memory are his catalogues of various families of Indian beetles and bugs, while Cotes and Swinhoe's *Catalogue of Moths* though out of date is no less deserving of praise. Col. Bingham was for many years resident in Burma and a very keen and competent entomologist. As one who has done a little work on the Aculeate Hymenoptera and the butterflies I know the value of his volumes on these groups in the "Fauna of British India" series.

With the mention of Mr. W. L. Distant's fine *Monograph of the Oriental Cicadidae* published between 1889 and 1892

by the Trustees of the Indian Museum I will pass on to a brief consideration of the work done in the last two decades. So much has been accomplished that it is quite impossible in the space at my disposal to attempt more than a short general account in which details will necessarily have to be omitted.

Calcutta—in spite of attempts of remove the Museum to Delhi—is one of the centres of zoological and entomological research in India, and it owes its position in no small measure to Lt. Col. A. W. Alcock, the former Superintendent of the Natural History Section of the Indian Museum and to Dr. N. Annandale, the present Director of the Zoological Survey of India. Prof. E. P. Stebbing, who has contributed much to entomology, especially those aspects of it which relate to forestry, was working in the Indian Museum for a short period and many papers appeared from his pen at this time. He is the author of a popular book entitled *Insect Intruders in Indian Homes* which every Indian naturalist should try to read, and of a text-book on Forest Insects. The late Mr. Peal and Mr. Barlow, who would have made a name for themselves were it not for their untimely death, also worked in the Museum early in the first decade of the present century.

The late Mr. C. A. Paiva joined the Indian Museum as a gallery assistant in 1899 and was no doubt much encouraged in his entomological studies by these gentlemen and by Col. Alcock and Prof. Maxwell-Lefroy. Under Lefroy he received entomological training at Pusa and was appointed special entomological assistant in 1904. In 1905 he wrote his first paper under the guidance of Dr. Annandale. This was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and since then, till his death in 1919, he contributed many important papers to the Asiatic Society's publications and to the *Records of the Indian Museum*. Dr. Annandale himself has published many notes and papers on insects and between 1907 and 1911 wrote many valuable systematic papers on the Psychodidae, a family of two-winged

flies (Diptera), which were published in the Asiatic Society's Journal, *Spolia Zeyl nica* and the *Records of the Indian Museum*. Mr. E. Brunetti came to India in 1906 and two years later published his first paper on Indian Diptera in the Indian Museum Records. He is now one of the greatest living authorities on Indian Diptera and his success is in no small measure due to Dr. Annandale.

A lasting tribute to Dr. Annandale's energy is the founding of the Records and Memoirs of the Indian Museum in 1907. From its inauguration to the present day the Records contain many valuable papers and notes on Indian insects, while such important monographs as Dr. F. H. Gravely's "An Account of the Oriental Passalidæ" and his "Contribution towards the Revision of the Passalidæ of the World," Dr. J. J. Kieffer's "Etude sur les Chironomides des Indes orientales," Prof. M. Bezzi's "Indian Trypanoids in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta" and the late Mr. Bashambar Das' "Aphididæ of Lahore," have been published in the Memoirs. Dr. Gravely, now Superintendent of the Madras Museum, is well-known as an authority on certain groups of beetles and beetle-larvæ and is now devoting his energies to a study of the spiders.

On the mosquitos we have had many workers. Among the best known are Major S. R. Christophers Lt. Col. Glen Liston and Major S. P. James. Dr. Baini Prashad of the Zoological Survey of India worked on mosquitos for some time and was making a reputation as an authority on the anatomy of aquatic Diptera, but because of his more extensive malacological studies he has more or less discontinued this work.

At present, so far at least as economic entomology is concerned, Calcutta has had to yield her laurels to Fusa, where the entomological section of the Agricultural Institute is situated. The work of the entomologists employed there has saved the Government millions of rupees and their publications are of interest to both the systematic and the economic

entomologist and to those interested in the life histories and habits of insects.

The first Imperial Entomologist was Prof. Maxwell-Lefroy, who is now Professor of Entomology in the Imperial College of Science and Technology at London. Prof. Lefroy is known to every Indian naturalist as the senior author of *Indian Insect Life*, in which he had the able collaboration of the late Mr. F. M. Howlett, who wrote the sections on Diptera and Lice and also drew many of the illustrations. Howlett was perhaps the only entomologist in India who did work of importance on what may be called the Psychology of Insects.

The indefatigable energy of Mr. T. Bainbrigge-Fletcher, the present Imperial Entomologist is known to most students of insects, and every recent entomologist in India has had at one time or another to seek his aid, which has always been given in a most generous spirit. It was Mr. Fletcher who inaugurated in 1915 the biennial entomological meetings held at Pusa and which have resulted in undeniable success. The Proceedings of these meetings have so far been published in five volumes and contain valuable papers by almost every entomologist in India on all aspects of the subject. Mr. Fletcher's numerous contributions to entomology are known to all entomologists, and not only entomologists, but also amateur "bug-hunters" are familiar with his *Some South Indian Insects*, the introductory chapters of which are written in a most readable style. Prof. Lefroy's and Mr. Fletcher's books should alone convey to the lay mind the importance of the work that can be done by two men only working amidst Indian difficulties.

There are five other important centres of entomology in India. These are: the Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, where entomological work is carried out under the leadership of Mr. C. F. C. Beeson, the Agricultural College at Coimbatore where the Government Entomologist and his very capable staff work, the Agricultural Colleges at

Lyallpur and Cawnpur, and the Institute at Kasauli where research, especially on mosquitos, is carried out under the guidance of Major S. R. Christophers, himself one of the most famous of Culicidologists.

Space does not permit me to do more than mention *en passant* the work done by more or less isolated workers in the different provinces in India, or the voluntary work done by such men as Major F. C. Fraser on the Dragonflies and their allies and Lt.-Col. W. H. Evans on the butterflies. We must also not omit to pay a tribute to those workers who have helped India, both in the past and in the present, from abroad.

In this review I have not attempted a *resumé* of the literature on Indian entomology—such an attempt would fill a volume—but merely to indicate briefly the work done by entomologists in this country, who it must be remembered work under a variety of difficulties. Like Magda, Queen of Sheba, whose devotion to Learning made her set out for Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom of Solomon, they have entered the domain of Science not with the object of any financial benefit to themselves but for their love of Knowledge. They have worked in the interests of Science alone, yet certain branches of their work has saved India millions of rupees, while others have added large sums to her coffers. Is it not then up to the Government to improve the status of entomology in this country and to make it a more lucrative profession? Even its most devoted votaries are apt to forget *les douces joies de la science* when 'the stomach pinches,' as the Indians say.

Every educated man to-day knows the importance of the study of mosquitos, but few realise that about one million people die annually of malaria—a disease carried entirely by mosquitos—to which we have to add the loss to the wage-earning capacity of people suffering from the disease. Estimating the money value of each life at the insignificant sum of Rs. 100, we find that the State loses from this disease alone about ten crores of rupees. It is more than probable,

as Sir Ronald Ross said in a lecture on malaria in Greece, delivered to the Oxford Medical Society in November, 1906, that "Causes such as malaria, dysentery, and intestinal protozoa must have modified history to a much greater extent than we conceive." And it is almost certain that "our historians and economists do not seem even to have considered the matter. It is true they speak of epidemic diseases, but the endemic diseases are really those of greatest importance....."

The damage done by pests of crops, forest trees, structural timber (the losses to railway sleepers by termites alone run into crores), stored products, clothing, etc., almost sets calculation at defiance, and as Curtis said in his *Farm Insects* more than fifty years ago, ".....if an approximation could be made to the quantity thus destroyed, the world would remain sceptical of the results obtained, considering it to be too marvellous to be received as truth." Yet, as Mr. Fletcher has remarked, there is in general a sort of *cui bono?* attitude towards entomology, probably founded on the fact that insects are small animals and are therefore considered to be of little consequence. Few realise "the real importance of the study of entomology in a country such as India, where seven-tenths of the people depend directly for their livelihood on the produce of their fields, which produce is ravaged by insect-pests both before and after harvest and where such a vast aggregate toll is taken by insect-borne diseases both amongst man and his domestic animals."

Mr. Fletcher has tried to calculate the average annual losses to India through the ravages of insects and finds that the losses due to—

Crop-Pests.....amount to...	Rs. 1,80,00,00,000.
Forest-Pests.....	Rs. 1,25,00,000.
Human Diseases.....	Rs. 16,00,00,000.
Animal Diseases.....	Rs. 3,82,36,000.
Total... ..	Rs. 2,01,07,36,000.

This huge annual loss to India of over two hundred crores of rupees will no doubt have the effect imagined by Curtis, but it is no exaggeration, and should indicate to the Government the immediate necessity of more entomologists. "If we, by a study of insects and by practical application of the knowledge gained thereby, can save even one per cent. of this enormous wastage of the national wealth of India such a saving would more than justify the most complete expansion of entomological work that we can possibly imagine."

Not only is it to wage war against insects that we require entomologists, for if by a study of beneficial insects such as the silk-moths and the lac-insect we can control or increase their produce, the revenue of India would be considerably enriched. And there is no doubt that researches on such insects performed by suitable men under suitable conditions will have this result.

I have striven to show above the importance of entomology and that in spite of difficulties India and Ceylon have in no small measure added to the stores of entomological learning, but this does not mean that the position of entomology in this country to-day is at all satisfactory. It is not. For instance, what is perhaps the largest and certainly the most valuable collection of insects in India—I refer of course to the entomological section of the Zoological Survey of India—has not a qualified Staff to look after it and to do serious research on the large collections of unnamed material which have accumulated. All that can occasionally be done is work on small collections of special interest. There is I think not even a numerical sufficiency of subordinate staff to pay adequate attention to the care of the collections.

The industrialist has apparently already recognised the value of science (as was shown by Sir Rajendranath Mukherjee's Presidential address to the Science Congress at Calcutta last year), but he has so far been enjoying the fruits of scientific labour with little or no financial help on his part.

“ If India (said Sir Rajendranath) is to advance commercially and also economically, she must spend money on scientific investigation.” This the Indian Government is apparently not prepared to do at present to the extent required by our needs. So “ it is part of the duty of all commercial and industrial concerns which benefit directly or indirectly, from scientific research, to set aside a portion of their enhanced profits for the purpose of contributing to scientific associationsto enable its members to extend their work and devote more time to further discoveries.”

But it appears that there is a feeling among scientific men in India that, as Dr. Annandale wrote in his “ Ethics of Zoology ” in the March number of this journal, “ private donations to science often do more harm than good, not only because of the conditions which usually hedge them round, but also because they weaken individual effort in research.” This may be in some measure true, but if we are beggars we cannot be choosers. In my opinion a donation made by a sane man for the purpose of carrying out some particular research or researches is not likely to have any very unreasonable conditions attached to it. The American institutions benefit largely by private donations and I think the value of the work done by their members proves my point. I believe, moreover, that a donation which would enable a conscientious man to extend his researches would increase rather than decrease his efforts in the cause of Science. It is idealistic but unpracticable to say that Science abhors patronage and flourishes in hardship and opposition, for nothing can flourish when sufficiently strongly and continually opposed. Anyway, we have not yet had the opportunity to test the accuracy of this statement, for though Science in India has been, and is still, sadly neglected, it has not been viewed with an unsympathetic eye.

If we in India are to make further scientific discoveries of value, there must be more co-operation : co-operation between

the various scientific departments and co-operation between the industrialist and the scientist. The general public must also be made to realise that the scientist, and in this article I refer especially to the entomologist, is not a harmless imbecile who by some strange dispensation of Providence has been allowed to pursue his hobby at Government expense.

“ By mutual confidence and mutual aid,
Great deeds are done and great discoveries made.”

I will close this article with a story narrated by a famous American professor as a parable for Indian entomologists.

“ It is related that a couple of habitual and impecunious pedestrians, sitting on the roadside engaged in conversation as follows:—

‘I wish I had a million dollars.’

‘Suppose you had, would you give me a thousand.’

‘No.’

‘Would you give me a hundred.’

‘No.’

‘Well, wouldn’t you give me even a dollar.’

“No. I wouldn’t give a cent to a man too— —lazy to wish for himself !”

The moral is obvious.

CEDRIC DOVER

Reviews

Land and Labour in a Deccan Village ; by Dr. H. H. Mann and N. V. Kantikar. Pp. 182. Oxford University Press.

Slowly and surely recognition begins to dawn upon the minds even of the most confirmed imperialists that India is getting poorer ; but, why that should be the case no one can satisfactorily explain in absence of economic data. It is, therefore, with much interest we welcome the book under review which, although written with a special reference to the Deccan, furnishes readers with cues for further investigations. Some years ago, Dr. Mann (then Principal of the Agricultural College, Poona) undertook with the collaboration of his associates the study of a village near Poona ; and the result of their enquiries was published in 1917, being the first publication of Economic Series of the University of Bombay. But the village being so near Poona did not truly represent the conditions of typical rural area in the Deccan. In the book under review, the authors give us data from a representative village, and as one reads through the pages, the factors dominating rural economic life become quite clear. No agricultural reform is possible unless the prevailing economic conditions are bettered and disadvantages under which the people eke out their existence are removed.

The book is divided into nine chapters which constitute a mine of information forming the basis of a comprehensive analysis of Indian economic life. Referring to the self-contained and self-sufficient character of the village community the authors write :—" In all considerations regarding Deccan villages it must never be forgotten how far, in the past, a village has been a self-contained and self-governing unit. It supplied itself with almost all it wanted except perhaps cloth and salt, and the only payments which went outside the village or, at least, outside the local market, were for these commodities, and for the government land revenue. Money rarely passed from hand to hand. *Weaving* was the only subsidiary industry. This self-contained condition of things which in the old disturbed days was such a protection to a village and made it more or less independent of changes in the central government, is passing away."

The Indian agriculturists are often accused of having no enterprising spirit necessary to improve the land. But commenting on the eagerness with which the cultivators accept any new innovations calculated to benefit them, the authors write: "The people retain their enterprise in spite of the special unfavourable conditions of the past ten years and are still ready for any improvement which promises to pay."

From the perusal of this interesting economic study of a rural area, our suspicion that villages are on the verge of decay is confirmed. We notice that the fragmentation of land is going on unchecked and "the bulk of the holdings are not at present economic, even in a good year." As a result of economic stress, the indebtedness is on the increase, and the inevitable 'rural exodus' has commenced. We agree with the authors that "it is a situation which demands the early and earnest attention of the best thought and action in the community."

In this connection, we would like to draw the attention of the Department of Economics of the Calcutta University that the study of Bengal villages is long overdue and no time should be lost in undertaking a series of investigations in the manner they are suggested by the authors of the book under review. Our students will be much better equipped for handling economic questions if a mass of data relating to rural life could be collected. In absence of reliable data, we are unable to grasp the real conditions of the people. Besides, no movement in modern history is of more far reaching import than the awakening of interests of the producers of agricultural wealth. Dr. Mann and his associates have done a very important service to India by their investigations into the rural conditions. The problems have been clearly set-forth, the data emphasising the unsatisfactory economic conditions have been collected; but we now await discussions over many questions raised by the facts exposed by the recent studies of the villages. If we are impoverished, if our agriculture is unprogressive, if our rural areas are on the verge of decay, the question is "What is to be done?"

NAGENDRA NATH GANGULEE

Deathless Ditties; by Babu Atul Chandra Ghosh.

The author has tried to render into English verse some deathless Bengalee ditties. The poets selected range from Chandidas to Rabindra Nath Tagore.

The Life of Shivaji Maharaj ; by Messrs. N. S. Takakhav and K. A. Keluskar. Published by Mr. K. A. Keluskar, Dadar, Bombay pp. 664. Price Rs. 7 or 10s.

Shivaji has of late attracted more attention than many other Indian heroes and it is a matter of great delight that Indian scholars have at last shaken off their lethargy and devoted themselves to the study of their country's past. But mere industry and devotion do not necessarily result in the production of an authoritative historical work. What is necessary is a stern sense of justice. A Historian must at the outset forget all bias, patriotic and otherwise, the likes and dislikes of his readers and sternly suppress the least vestige of partisanship that may lurk unobserved in the innermost corner of his heart. Truth should be his only ideal and the sole reward of his arduous labours. He must not forget that he is a judge and not an advocate engaged to champion a cause regardless of its merits and demerits. Prof. Takakhav should have recognised that Shivaji of all persons does not stand in need of such unreasonable special pleading. He was a man and no one expects perfection from him. His greatness is undoubted and the special merit or demerit of isolated incidents in his career will not either add to or detract it. Mr. Takakhav also forgets that all *bakhars* and all parts of the same *bakhar* are not equally trustworthy. In these days serious students of History expect from an author accuracy and impartiality and also a uniform system of transliteration preferably one approved by a learned society of orientalisks. Messrs. Takakhav and Keluskar have given ample evidence of industry and their work, bulky as it is, should have been more reliable.

RUDRA SEN

Shakespeare's Macbeth—An Oriental Study ; by Smarajit Dutt, M.A. Pp. 107. Price one Rupee.

In this brochure the author ingeniously tries to show that Shakespeare is not so great a dramatist or poet as he is made out to be. "Thus we see Shakespeare is Shakespeare mostly through his advertising critics who make the daring attack to read between the lines and force out a hidden meaning or supply one where there is none. Led by a patriotic motive, they assume the colouring office of the dressing master in the green-room, who sends out actor to the stage after carefully concealing all wrinkles and deformities under a skilful paint—a real camouflage!" (p. 105). The author takes up an oriental attitude when he rightly points out that

'Shakespeare has depicted the frivolities and sorrows of life, preached the insecurity of mind over existence and thundered, above all, the cruelties of an inscrutable Destiny. But of a peaceful life here, which is born of self-denial and philanthropic altruism and of a reassuring hope of Eternal Beatitude hereafter, which is the reward of unflinching faith he has nothing to say, or shall we say, he has no conception? (p. 57). Very properly the author hastens to explain the position of the *Upanishads* and gives expression to a mystic yearning for poetry permeated with the philosophy of bliss. "Out of Beatitude does the creation come into being, by Beatitude is it nourished into life and into Beatitude shall it merge and blend again. With, how great a yearning do we look forward to the day when this sublime truth will find adequate expression in Poetry!" We can understand this but unfortunately this exhausts the author's oriental tone.

The rest of the book is full of bold and ingenious attempts to run down the characterisation and dramatic art of Macbeth. But here again he takes into consideration only two Shakespearean critics and they too the author of college editions—Deighton and Verity. He also ignores the framework, the source into which Shakespeare has infused life. It would have been interesting if we had got comparisons of the several elements in Shakespeare with their appearance in Sanskrit or Bengali dramas notably the supernatural which abounds in Indian literature. But it seems that the author is throughout at pains to appear strikingly original only by deprecating one who has already received the homage of many orientals—one of the greatest of Bengali poets addressing him in a significant short line thus:—"Kalidas is (the greatest bard) of India but thou art of the world."

P. M.

Ethics of the Koran : by Mr. M. A. Buch, Baroda.

In this book an attempt is made "to put in a nutshell the moral teachings of the Koran." "I am glad to say," says the author in the preface, "that as a true and orthodox Hindu, I can agree with all the fundamentals of the Moslem position. I, therefore, make bold to make the results of my labour public with the explicit view that the Hindus will honestly try to understand the Spirit of Islam and appreciate the remarkable harmony of the Koranic doctrine with the one with which they are familiar. A true and lasting unity of the Hindus and Moslems

is the most essential need of Asia and the world-peace; and this unity, if it is to be not a mere patch-work, must strike its root deep into the soil. It may be based on political or economic necessities: but I think there is deeper and more enduring basis for it: and this is the marvellous agreement in fundamentals of their respective culture. I would like to take my stand as regards this problem of Hindu-Moslem *entente* on this cultural unity and would invite the attention of all scholars on both sides to find out this common platform upon which we can stand shoulder to shoulder, ensuring mutual freedom, mutual love, and thus promoting the highest of ideals—international peace and good-will on earth." We heartily associate ourselves with the author's feelings, and strongly recommend his book to the Hindus as well as the Muhammadans.

S. S.

The Spirit of Ancient Hindū Culture: by Mr. M. A. Buch, Baroda.

According to the author, the whole superstructure of Hindu Culture is built upon the basis of *Advaitism*: and in support of his theory, he takes his stand mainly upon the six traditional systems of Indian Philosophy. But Hindu Culture had already had a long past before these traditional systems came into existence. The author should have started from the *Vedas*, which are the earliest records of the Aryan people. For *Rks* suggestive of *Advaitism*, the author might have referred to II, 1, 3; II, 3, 22; VI, 47, 15 and a number of other *Rks* in the 10th *Maṇḍala* of the *Rg-Veda*. In page 225 the author might have explained the method of *Vedānta* much more clearly. The way in which he has dealt with the point seems to suggest that the intuitionism of the *Vedāntā* is the same as the intuitionism of Bergson. Bergson's intuitionism discards intellect, but the method of the *Vedānta* as well as of all other systems of Hindu philosophy is, as laid down the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, (IV, 5, 6): *ātma rā ure dṛ-aṣṭaryah śrotaryo mantaryo nidhidhyāsitaryah*. For commentary upon this passage the author is referred to Jagadīśa's *Tu-kā-mṛtam*, para 2: *ātmādarśanopāyaḥ ka iti atrāha—'śrotaryah' ityādiḥ tena arthakrameṇa śabdakramāḥ tyakto bhavati, 'agnihotram jukoti yavāgum pacati' ityādivat*. In spite of sweeping generalisations here and there the book shows an earnest attempt to interpret the spirit of Hindu Culture, and therefore deserves appreciation from all persons who love truth.

S. S.

SHAKESPEARE¹

When by the far-away sea your fiery disk appeared from
behind the unseen, O Poet, O Sun, England's horizon felt
you near her breast, and took you to be her own.

She kissed your forehead, caught you in the arms of her
forest branches, hid you behind her mist-mantle and
watched you in the green-sward where fairies love to play
among meadow flowers.

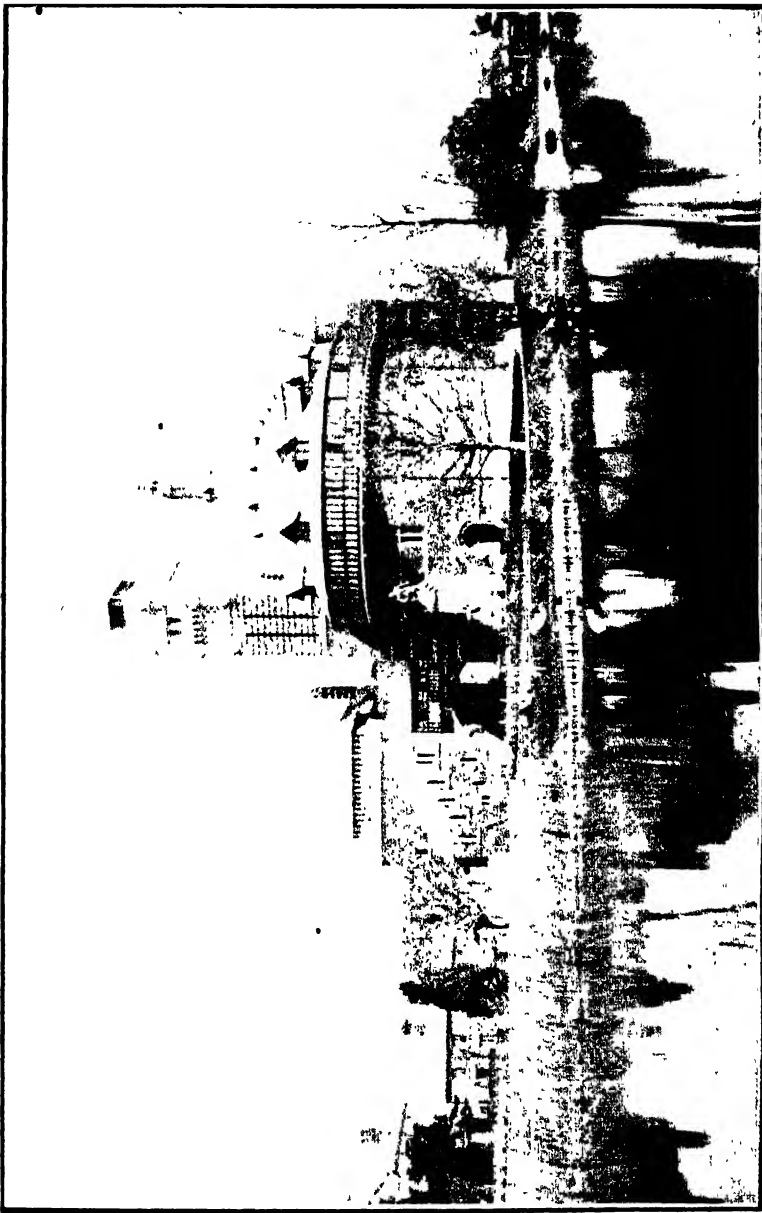
A few early birds sang your hymn of praise while the rest of
the woodland choir were asleep.

Then at the silent beckoning of the Eternal you rose higher
and higher till you reached the mid-sky, making all
quarters of heaven your town.

Therefore at this moment, after the end of centuries, the palm
groves by the Indian sea raise their tremulous branches
to the sky murmuring your praise.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

¹ Reproduced from the *Looker-on*, April 22, 1922

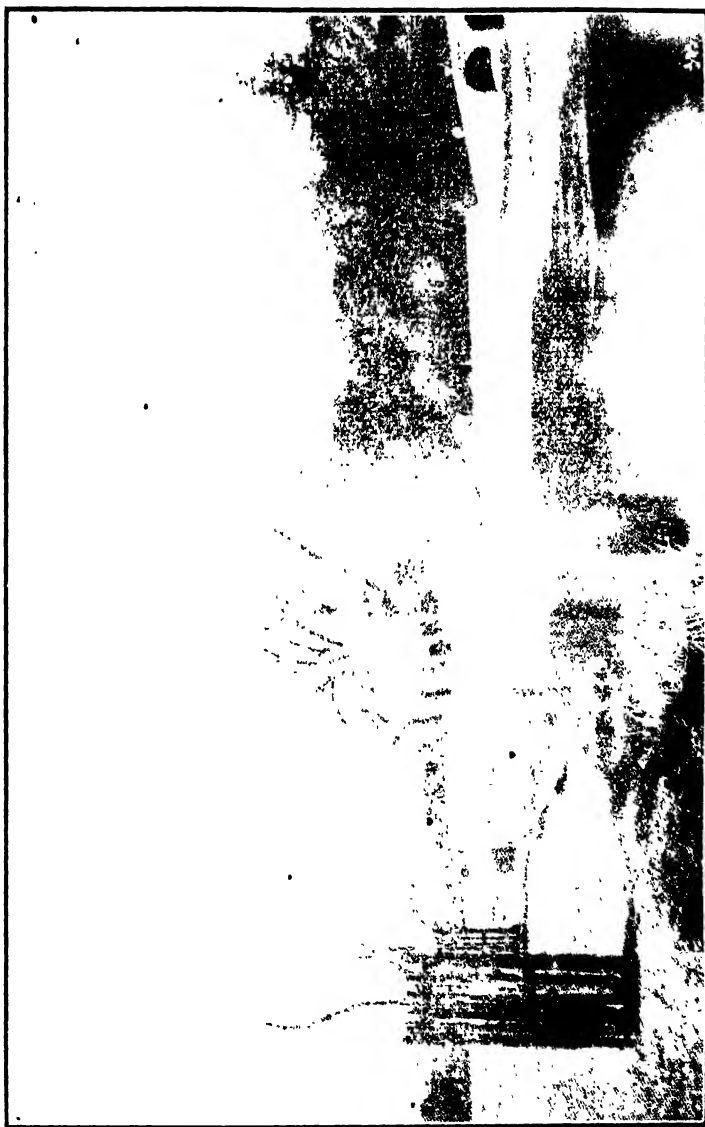
TO THE MEMORY OF SHAKESPEARE¹

The Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon

¹ The Shakespeare Commemoration Festival was celebrated in Calcutta on 22nd April last under the auspices of the Calcutta Shakespeare Association. The authorities of the "Looker-on" Ltd. have issued an excellent *Shakespeare Number* and we are beholden to them for the blocks of this section,—Ed., C.R.



Shakespeare's Tomb at Stratford-upon-Avon



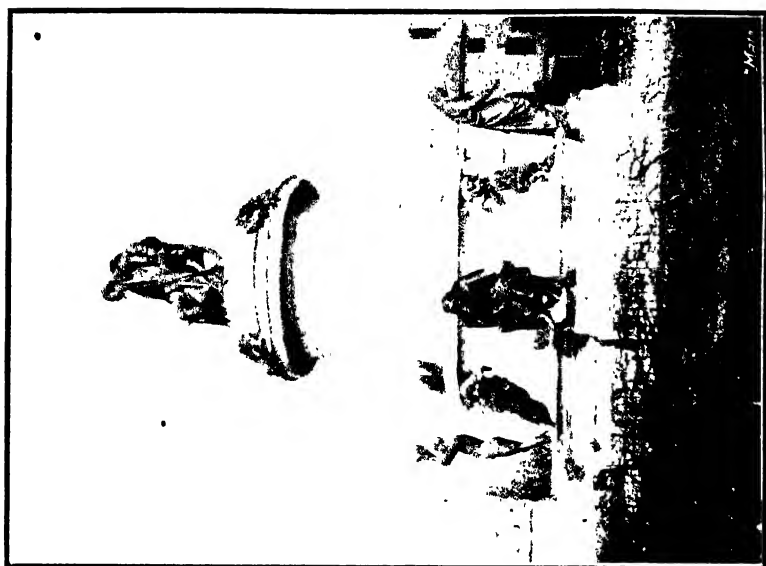
Holy Trinity Church, from the Recreation Ground, Stratford-on-Avon



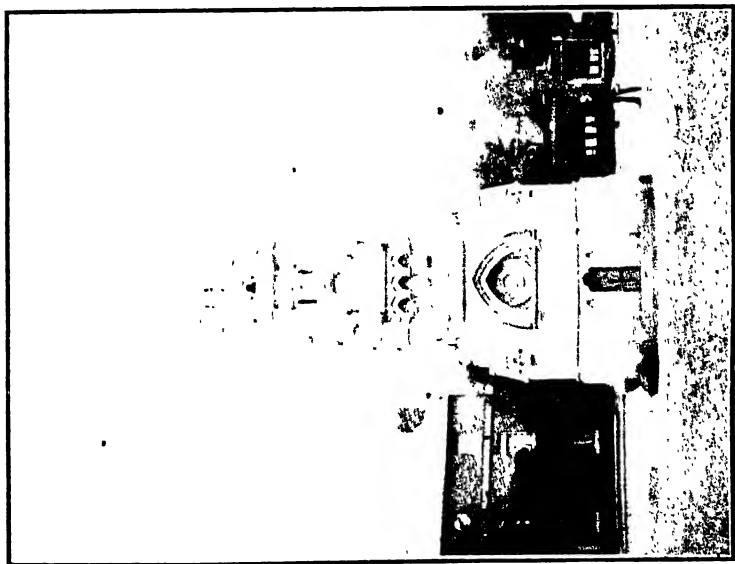
The Zaimi Portrait, said to represent
Shaka, to be at the age of 30 years.



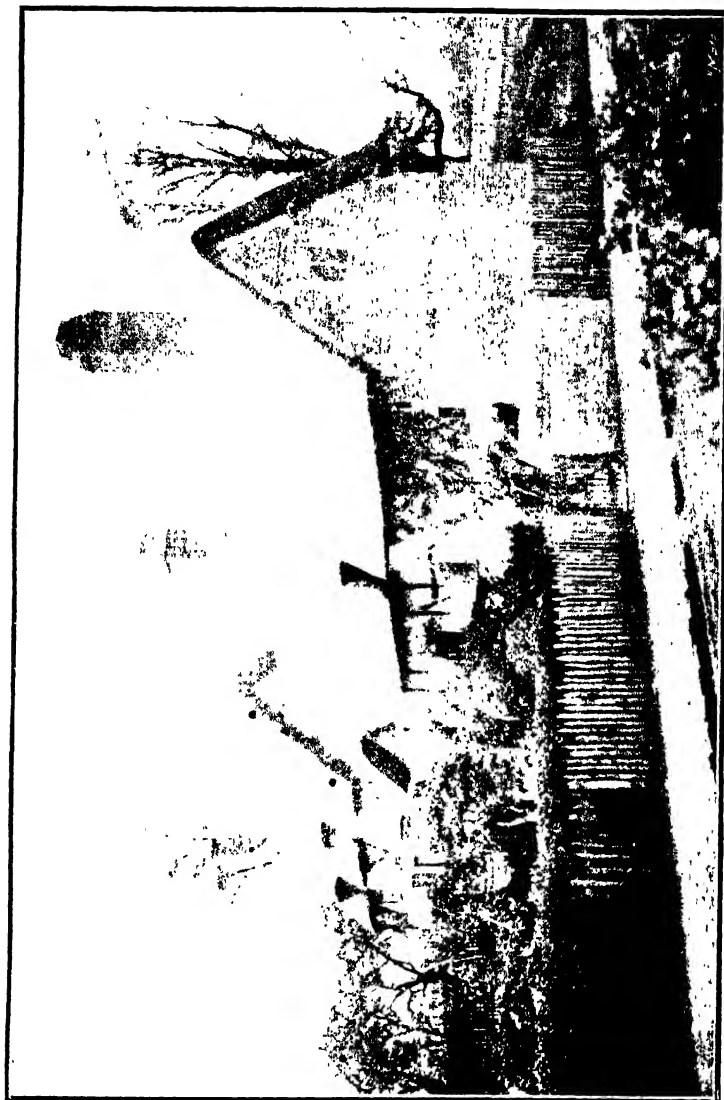
The Lindley Portrait, said to be an authentic
contemporary portrait of the Poor



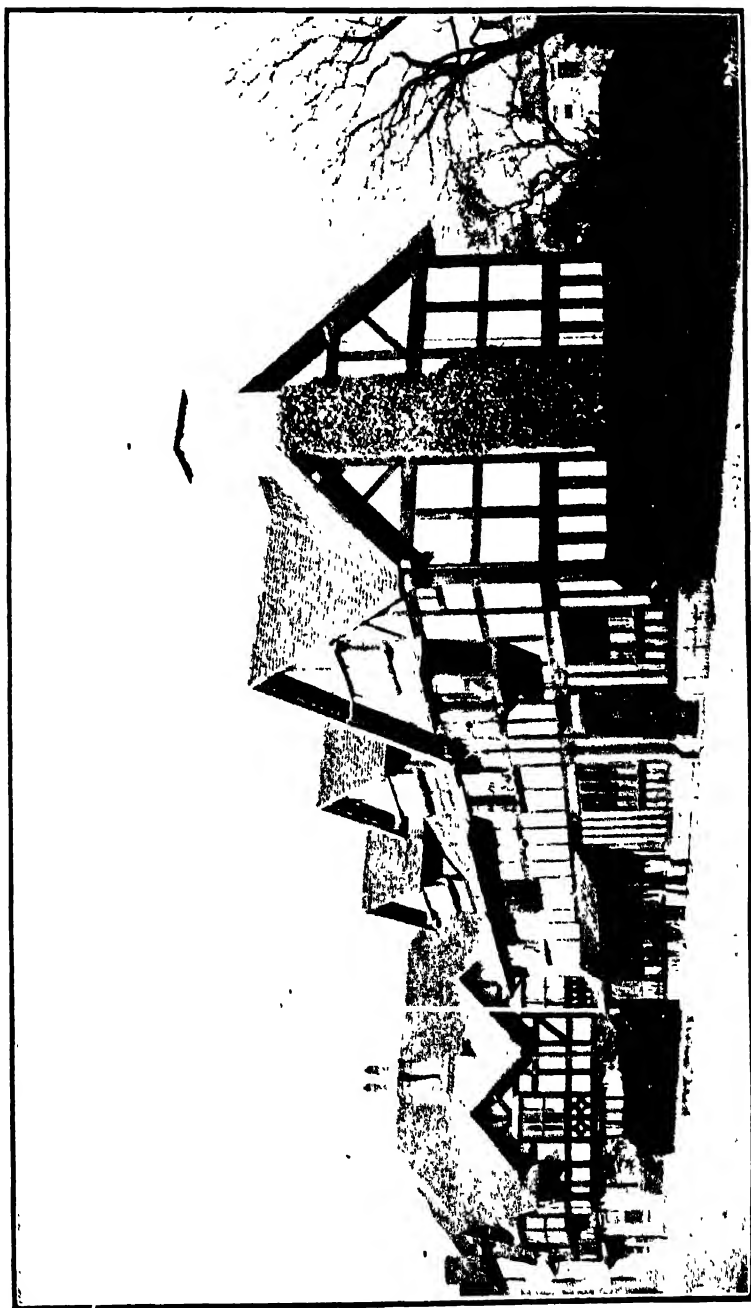
Lord Ronald Gower's Monument to Shakespeare
at Stratford-on-Avon



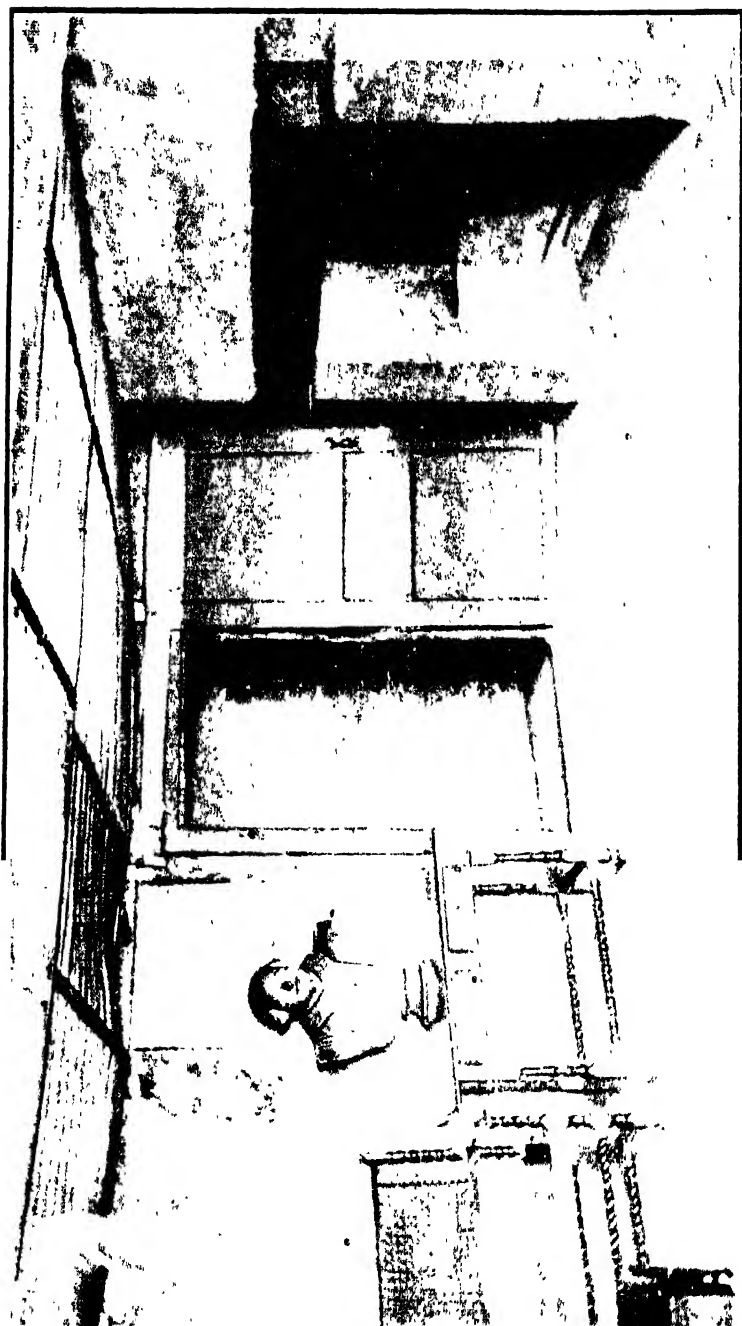
The Memorial Fountain at Stratford-on-Avon



Anne Hathaway's Cottage at Stratford-on-Avon



Shakespeare's House at Stratford-on-Avon, looking West



The Calcutta Review.



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THE FISCAL SYSTEM OF INDIA

The fiscal history of India divides itself into three fairly well defined periods. The first was the period of the East India Company's rule, when a protective policy was followed in the country. The protection was, however, in favour of Great Britain, and against India. The second period commenced with the transfer of the administration of India from the hands of the Company to those of the British Crown, and ended in 1914. These were the years during which the principles of free trade were applied with the utmost rigour. During both the first and the second periods, England carried out in India her own trade policy. The third period was ushered in with the sound of the war-drum, and is still continuing. The financial stress caused by the great world upheaval led to some modification of the fiscal system of India, but the aftermath of the war has been responsible for the introduction of still greater changes into it. The customs duties of recent years were imposed for revenue purposes, but their effect has been, though in a very slight degree, protective. In fact, this period may be said to mark the transition from an absolute adherence to free trade principles to the adoption of a policy of protection.

The first two periods, though very important, are now of merely historical interest. The third period, on the other hand, is a living reality, and in it are to be found the germs of the future tariff policy of India. In this article, therefore, I shall discuss the important features of the fiscal changes of the last few years.

On the eve of the European War of 1914, India was in a fairly satisfactory financial position. But no sooner did hostilities commence than the impact was felt in India, situated though she was many thousand miles from the theatre of operations. The Government were able, however, to meet the financial strain without resort to fresh taxation for the first year and a half of the war. But as the deficiency in the revenue tended to assume a more or less abiding character, additional taxation became necessary. In 1916, an augmentation of revenue was sought to be obtained from various sources, including customs. The general import duty was raised from 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*, the duty on sugar was increased to 10 per cent., that on iron and steel to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and on other metals to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The free list was considerably curtailed, and some of the articles which had previously been imported free were now subjected to a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while others were taxed at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The special duties on arms, liquors, tobacco, and silver manufactures were also considerably enhanced. The salt duty was raised from Re. 1 to Rs. $1\frac{1}{4}$ per maund. Finally, an export duty was levied on two important staples, namely, jute and tea. The duty on cotton goods, however, was left untouched. Anticipating an adverse comment on this policy of partial treatment, Sir William Meyer said: "Well, the Government of India have not failed to represent their view that there should be a material increase in the cotton import duties, while the cotton excise, which has formed the subject of such widespread criticism in this country, should be left unenhanced, subject to

the possibility of its being altogether abolished when financial circumstances are more favourable. But His Majesty's Government, who have to consider the position from a wider standpoint, felt that the raising of this question at the present time would be most unfortunate, as it would provoke a revival of old controversies at a time when they specially desired to avoid all contentious questions, both here and in England, and might prejudice the ultimate settlement of the larger issues raised by the war. His Majesty's Government feel that the fiscal relationship of all parts of the Empire as between one another and the rest of the world must be reconsidered after the war, and they desire to leave the question raised by the cotton duties to be considered then, in connection with the general fiscal policy which may be thought best for "the Empire, and the share, military and financial, that has been taken by India in the present struggle."¹

The proposals for increasing the customs duties met with the approval of the Indian Legislative Council. The only objection which was taken was with regard to the salt duty. As for the exclusion of cotton goods from the additional burden, although the action of the Government gave rise to keen disappointment, the explanation offered by the Finance Member went some way towards disarming criticism. Almost all the non-official members of the Council gave expression to the sense of injustice which had been done to India by the partiality shown to the cotton manufacturers of England. Many of them, however, were unwilling to embarrass the Government at a critical moment. But, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola moved an amendment for raising the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. import duty on cotton goods to 6 per cent. In the course of his speech on the subject, he said: "It appears to me that it is rather hard that when the Government of India want the revenue, when the country is willing to agree

¹ Financial Statement, 1916-17.

to give them that additional revenue from a source which is agreeable to themselves, that they should be debarred from doing so and in that way necessitate the proposal for the increased salt tax."¹

In May, 1916, an Industrial Commission was appointed by the Government of India, but the tariff question was especially excluded from the scope of its enquiries. In the following year, the financial stress of the war increased, which necessitated further taxation. Various steps were taken to improve the revenue, and customs came in once more for their share in the scheme. The export duty on jute, both raw and manufactured, was doubled. The import duty on cotton goods was fixed at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which was the general tariff rate, but the excise duty on cotton was left at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Of course, this last measure was taken with the sanction of the Government of England, which had been accorded to enable India to make an adequate contribution towards the expenses of the war. The proposal was welcomed by the non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council.²

In September, 1919, the Government of India introduced a Bill which sought to impose an export duty of 15 per cent. on hides and skins, with a rebate of 10 per cent. on hides and skins exported to any part of the Empire. The object was to ensure that the hides and skins of India should be converted into fully tanned leather or articles of leather so far as possible in India, and failing this in other parts of the Empire, instead of being exported in a raw state for manufacture in foreign countries. In the course of his speech introducing the Bill, Sir George Barnes, the Commerce Member, said that before the war the hide trade had been monopolised by the

¹ Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, 1916.

² One member said: "The principles of taxation devised in the Bill is a distinct indication of the sign that the Government is more and more in touch with the popular opinion, and that it has come to the conclusion that its future policy in the matter of taxation shall be, as far as practicable in the direction of a well considered system of protective tariff."—*Speech of the Hon. Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy in the Legislative Council, 7th March 1917.*

Germans, and the tanning industry of India had been of comparative insignificance, but great changes were brought about by the war. "We want," Sir George added, "to keep this industry alive, and we believe that in this case protection in the shape of a 15 per cent. duty is justifiable and effective." But, in reality, the Government wanted to kill two birds with one stone. The second object was described by the Member in charge of the Bill in these words: "Though Indian tanneries have enormously increased in number during the past three years, they can only deal with a comparatively small proportion of the raw hides and skins which India produces, and it is to the advantage of India and the security of the Empire generally that this large surplus should, so far as possible, be tanned within the Empire, and with this end in view the Bill proposes a 10 per cent. rebate in respect of hides and skins exported to any place within the Empire."¹ Sir George Barnes did not, however, make it clear how the manufacture into leather of hides in a country within the Empire but outside of India could be of advantage to India herself. Nor did he say which of the two objects mentioned by him was regarded by the Government as the more important.

The first part of the Bill was welcomed by the Indian as well as the European members of the Council. Mr. W. E. Crum supported the Bill on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and in doing so he pointed out that, as long ago as 1917, a Conference of the Chambers of Commerce had recommended that "any industries which can be regarded as key industries should be supported."² Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, while supporting the export duty of 15 per cent., saw no justification for the other proposal, namely, the grant of a rebate of 10 per cent. Another non-official member of the Council, Mr. B. N. Sarma, congratulated the Government most heartily upon the

¹ Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, September, 1918.

² *Ibid.*

departure from the economic policy which had so far been pursued by it, but moved an amendment to delete the second part of the Bill on the ground that it raised, in an indirect manner, a large and important question, namely, the question of preference between the various parts of the Empire. To this objection Sir George Barnes replied that the rebate was not proposed as part of any general scheme of Imperial Preference.¹

In their Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford incidentally referred to the question of Indian fiscal policy. They said, "Educated public opinion ardently desires a tariff. It rightly wishes to find another substantial base than that of the land for Indian revenues, and it turns to tariff to provide one. Desiring industries which will give him Indian-made clothes to wear and Indian-made articles to use, the educated Indian looks to the example of other countries which have relied on tariffs, and seizes on the admission of even free traders that for the nourishment of nascent industries a tariff is permissible.... He believes that as long as we continue to decide for him we shall decide in the interests of England and not according to his own wishes; and he points to the debate in the House of Commons on the differentiation of the cotton excise in support of his contention."

The Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament to consider the Government of India Bill recommended the question of the tariff as a "special case of non-intervention." "Nothing," they said, "is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the present moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear.

* ¹ Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, March, 1917.

India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown; and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only, therefore, be assumed by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."¹

Lord Curzon endorsed this view of the fiscal relations of India and England, when he observed in the House of Lords: "For the first time a responsible and representative British Committee, charged with shaping a government for India, have conceded to India almost absolute freedom of fiscal policy. They have laid down the policy and the principle that she ought to be free to exercise, in respect of her tariffs, and so on, the same degree of liberty as is enjoyed by the

¹ Report of the Joint Select Committee, p. 11.

great Dominions of the Crown. This is a change so fundamental and fraught with such stupendous consequences that I am amazed at the little attention it has attracted in this country.”¹ These expressions are so clear and emphatic that there could not be the slightest doubt as to the intentions of the Legislature as well as of the Executive Government of England in regard to this subject.

In 1921, the Government of India were faced with a large deficit.² The Finance Member was thus obliged to bring forward fresh proposals for taxation. Among other measures, he proposed a large addition to the customs tariff. In the first place, he proposed to increase the general *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 11 per cent., except in the case of matches and certain articles of luxury, but inclusive of cotton manufactures. The excise duty on cotton was to be left at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He estimated that this measure would produce an additional revenue of Rs. 3,84 lakhs. This measure was, of course, proposed after a previous reference to His Majesty’s Government in order to make it clear to them that the sole object of the Government of India was the production of additional revenue and that they had no ulterior motive of a productive or any other kind. “It would,” said Sir Malcolm Hailey, “ill become this country, at a time when the senior partner of the Empire, upon whom fell by far the severest burden of the war, both in blood and money, is anxiously endeavouring to face the most acute problems of unemployment and trade distress, to requite the services which Great Britain has rendered to the rest of the Empire, including

¹ Lord Curzon added: “It is a starting-point to a future career in the growth of self-governing institutions in India the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. I am the last to complain of it, because in all the controversies about these Cotton Duties, and so on, I have always fought the battles of India. Therefore, I am delighted to see my views and theories prevail.” Debate in the House of Lords, Dec. 19, 1919.—P. Mukherji, *Indian Constitution*.

² This was due to various causes, the principal ones being exchange difficulty and increased military expenditure.

India, by taking the first opportunity to introduce a measure of protection against her manufactures. We made it clear, therefore, that it is solely our financial necessities, and no new departure of fiscal policy, which have obliged us to propose to the legislature this particular measure. We trust that our fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom will appreciate this and will acquit the Indian Government and Legislature of any desire to use their newly conferred liberty of action to injure the country which only a year ago conferred that liberty upon them."¹

In view of the advantage which was thus to be gained by the weaving and spinning mills, the concession of the free import of machinery and stores required for use in these mills was withdrawn, and most of such articles were made liable to duty at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The second customs measure proposed by the Finance Member was the levy on matches of a specific import duty of 12 annas per gross boxes in place of the *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. His third proposal was an increase of duty on liquors. The fourth measure was the raising of the general *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 20 per cent. in the case of certain articles of luxury, such as motor cars, motor cycles and tyres (excluding lorries), silk piece-goods, fireworks, umbrellas, clocks and watches, musical instruments, cinematograph films, etc. Fifthly, the import duty on foreign sugar was proposed to be raised from 10 to 15 per cent. The Finance Member's last tariff proposal was that duties on tobacco, other than manufactured, be raised to 50 per cent.

While strong objection was taken to the other proposals for taxation, almost all the tariff proposals were accepted by the Legislature.²

¹ Financial Statement, 1921-22.

² It should be noted that the composition, powers, and responsibility of the Indian Legislature were different at this time from what they had been a few months before.

The action of the Indian Government and the Indian Legislature gave rise to much consternation in Lancashire. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce appointed a deputation to wait upon Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, who, in reply, referred to the opinion of the Parliamentary Joint Committee and Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords, and said : "After that Report by an authoritative Committee of both Houses and Lord Curzon's promise in the House of Lords, it is absolutely impossible for me to interfere with the right which, I believe, was wisely given and which I am determined to maintain—to give to the Government of India the right to consider the interests of India."

In October, the Government of India announced the appointment of a Fiscal Commission, with Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola as Chairman, "to examine with reference to all interests concerned, the tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference and to make recommendations."

During the financial year which closed on the 31st March last, the revenue of the Government fell short of their expectations, while the expenditure largely exceeded the estimates. And another large deficit was expected to occur in the current year. The Finance Member, being unwilling to budget for a deficit, made various proposals for increasing the revenue, and his first thoughts naturally turned towards the customs. In view of the fact that a Fiscal Commission was sitting, he would have preferred to await the decisions of that body before proposing any further alteration of the tariff. But the needs of revenue

¹ Addressing the Labour members of the Deputation, Mr. Montagu said that the Labour Party gave valuable support to the passage of the Bill but they always protested that they took it because they could not get anything better—that they wanted more liberty for India, that the time had come to concede to her, if not complete self-government, something very near it. Now when despite the limitations of the Bill you concede to her the right to mould her own fiscal destinies, a section of the Labour Party feels that those rights and liberties which she has achieved are even too large for the well-being of the interests that they are here to represent to-day.—*The Times*, 26th March, 1921.

were urgent, and there was no escaping the conclusion that "the pressure of financial necessity must in any case inevitably involve the raising of our customs duties, purely for revenue purposes, irrespective of what the effect may be in the case of any particular tariff-head in the direction of protection, Imperial Preference, or free trade." Sir Malcolm Hailey was also careful to add that he had endeavoured to limit his proposals in such a way "as not to involve any important change of principle in the existing fiscal arrangements."¹

The proposals of the Finance Member were the following: to raise the general import duty on all articles including cotton goods to 15 per cent.; to increase the cotton excise duty from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; to raise the duty on machinery, iron and steel to 10 per cent.; to increase the duty on foreign sugar to 25 per cent.; to double the duty on matches; to increase the duty on petroleum; to increase the salt tax from Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ a maund; to levy a duty of 4 per cent. on imported yarn; to raise the duties on luxuries to 30 per cent.; and lastly, to enhance the duties on alcoholic liquors, except wines, by approximately 20 per cent. The Finance Member estimated that the total of revenue obtainable from the proposed increases in customs would amount to 14,90 lakhs.¹

Some of the proposals of the Finance Member did not find favour with the Indian Legislature. The two most important modifications introduced into the budget both related to cotton goods. The Legislative Assembly refused to give its sanction to the increase in the excise duty on cotton manufactures, and, on the motion of Mr. Rhodes, President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the import duty on cotton goods was left at 11 per cent.² A few days later, that is to say, on the 29th

¹ Financial Statement, March, 1922.

² *Ibid.*

³ The proposals for the enhancement of the salt tax and the duty on kerosine were also objected to. *Vide* Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Assembly, March, 1922.

March, 1922, a deputation of Members of Parliament and others representing cotton textile interests headed by Sir John Randles, M.P., was received at the India Office by the Secretary of State, and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India. Lord Peel welcomed the deputation, but was obliged to leave the meeting in consequence of a sudden Cabinet engagement. He asked Lord Winterton to take charge of the proceedings in his absence.

The speakers on behalf of the deputation were Mr. Waddington, M.P., Mr. T. Shaw, M.P., Sir William Barton, M.P., and Sir Wm. Ryland Adkins, M.P. Representations were made that the terms of the convention recommended by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill of 1919 to the effect that the Government of India acting in agreement with the Legislature should be conceded the same fiscal autonomy as is possessed by the Dominions, travelled beyond the intentions of the Government of India Act of 1919, to which alone Parliament was committed. It was further argued that the indigenous cotton industry of India had been able to make headway against competition even in the days when the import duty on cotton was balanced by a countervailing excise duty of the same amount and therefore the industry itself did not stand in any need of protection. It was also stated that whereas Indian politicians of all classes were admittedly protectionist, the cotton duties were bound seriously to affect the poorest class of the population. The suggestion was made that the revenue derived from the cotton import and excise duties would be equally secured if the import duty were lowered from 11 per cent. to 6 per cent. and the excise duty raised from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 6 per cent. In general it was urged that the Government should recognise the grave dissatisfaction caused in Lancashire by the suspicion that the Indian cotton duties were dictated by a clique of wealthy mill-owners in India; and that the Government should ensure that a true balance was held between all parties

interested and should undertake that the representations made to them should receive their close attention in co-operation with the Government of India.

Lord Winterton replying on behalf of the Secretary of State indicated as regards the convention recommended by the Joint Select Committee that ultimate self-government must contain fiscal autonomy as an essential feature, and that, therefore, if and when, as was hoped, India attained self-government, the right of fiscal autonomy must then be unreservedly conceded. He expressed his wish, however, not to press this argument too closely for the moment, and he assured the deputation that there was no doubt that the ultimate responsibility for India's financial measures must in present circumstances rest with the Secretary of State.¹ He was not in a position to promise definitely that the Secretary of State would undertake to re-examine the whole position on the lines suggested by the deputation; but he expressed his full agreement with the view that close co-operation between the Home Government and the Government of India in this matter was essential in the interests of both countries, and he promised that the fullest consideration should be given to the representations made, which he would charge himself with conveying to the Secretary of State.²

The opinion expressed by Lord Winterton on behalf of the present Secretary of State for India seems to indicate a significant change in the attitude of the British Government towards India on this important question. Lord Winterton's words are in direct contrast with the clear

¹ Lord Winterton pointed out that the actual position as regards cotton import and excise duties had by virtue of the vote in the Indian Legislative Assembly been left as it was twelve months ago, viz., the figure of the import duty remained at 11 per cent., and that of the excise duty at 3½ per cent. He added that in one respect the British cotton trade was better off than other trades, since the general import duty had been raised in the recent Indian budget from 11 per cent., to 15 per cent. whereas by the vote of the Indian Legislative Assembly the import duty on cotton had been left at its former figure. *

² Report published in the *Englishman*, April, 1922.

and emphatic language in which Mr. Montagu defined the constitutional position of India in respect of her tariff. And no wonder that this change of attitude has given rise to a keen and intense feeling of dissatisfaction among all classes of people in the country. It is, however, to be earnestly hoped, in the interests of the future good relations between India and England, that no attempt will be made to go back upon the definite assurance of fiscal freedom which was given by a responsible Parliamentary Committee and endorsed by the King's responsible Ministers.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

THE GUIDING LIGHT

Peace ! Peace ! And stay the torrent of those tears ;
Weeping ne'er yet hath moved unpitying Fate.
The inmost secret of the stricken Heart—
Its holiest treasure—is its voiceless woe !
Across the pure still azure of the Soul,
Sorrow and Joy, like summer-fleecelets flit,
Chasing each other, casting lights and shades,—
Here scattering gladness, there a passing shower.
A Changing Scene—full of surprises—Life !
Aglow to-day ; to-morrow fading fast ;
A Dream—naught else—veiled in deluding mists.
'Tis better so ! Ne'er draw that veil aside !
And should, O Saif, thy soul e'er 'yearn for Light,
Seek it *within thee* ! There alone it shines—
A never-failing, ever-guiding Light !

S. KHUDA BUKHSH



A GERMAN APPRECIATION OF DR. RABINDRA-NATH TAGORE

[BY DR. FRIEDRICH DÜSEL : TRANSLATED FROM THE AUGUST (1921) NUMBER OF *Westermanns Monatshefte*.]

There is an ancient law which governs all human affairs. In times of a great crisis men feel an overpowering impulse to fly as far as possible from the burning presence; there is no epoch when the door of a civilisation opens so freely to everything that is foreign and distant as an epoch when the heavy hand of Fate knocks at the gate. When the storms of the War of Liberty shook the lands and peoples of Germany, storms which were the accompaniments of a great national movement, a movement which was mistrusted and discouraged by those who were growing old and who were despairing of the then existing conditions : it was at that time that Goethe-Hattem sang in the "Hegire" of the West-Eastern Diwan :

"North and West and South are quaking,
Thrones are crumbling, Empires shaking :
Flee from here to eastern lands where Sages
Breathed a purer air in distant ages.

That is the mood, the tune which, hundred and seven years later, is expressed and intoned by the Indian poet RABINDRANATH TAGORE. When eight years ago his name reached our ears for the first time, on the occasion of the Nobel Prize being awarded to the poet and philosopher of Bengal, the result was hardly more than a passing sensation, and the excitement caused by the Great War soon caused the event to be nearly forgotten. But now, when, overpowered by our enemies and crushed by internal strife, Germany lies

and is longing to discover the healing waters which will restore her health and innate strength, her children would not be the spiritual grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Winkelmann and Goethe, if they did not seek their safety in a flight from what is their very own inheritance. And now we awaken to realise the glorious achievements of the Prophet from the far East; now we begin to appreciate the Indian poet whose merits we only dimly realised in 1913. Inner and outer circumstances have contributed to this realisation. Rabindranath Tagore celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his birthday in the spring of 1921; he has visited German towns, and his visit resembled a triumphal procession, and he must have noticed in Germany tendencies similar to those which he, in his own country, is successfully endeavouring to bring to fruition. When thinking of Rabindranath, we are reminded of the "School of Wisdom" founded by Count Keyserling in Darmstadt, undoubtedly stimulated thereto by oriental studies. In the meantime the master-pieces of the Indian author have been translated into German and have been widely read by an appreciative public. The final impulse to this Tagore movement has been imparted by a physical and psychological need grounded in the sick and sickly feeling created by the so-called peace. Germans, body and soul, are filled with a deep longing after rest, contemplation, introspection; the best of them feel an ardent desire to live once more in peace, in solitude and in intimate communion with men of a similar mind, after having lived through years of violent emotions and exertions. This new—or more correctly—old-spirit is bound to form a bond between Germany and the Orient.

A picture of the outer life and the inner spirit of Rabindranath Tagore has been already drawn by Paul Cremer in the March number of 1914. Since then much more has become known of the Indian poet. We now know that in his own country he is celebrated as a real national poet and

is loved as a spiritual guide of his own people. In the course of thirty-four years he has published an immense number of poems, dramas, stories, novels, treatises, critical and historical studies, in books as well as periodicals and he has taken a prominent part in the war against social evils and for the regeneration of India. Among his practical creation one of the most important is the boys' school at Santiniketan near Bolpur, where the pupils, far from the maddening crowd, become imbued with Indian piety and yet make the acquaintance with what is best in Western culture. A member of an old family of Brahmins, a member therefore of the spiritual aristocracy of India, the son of a father revered as a *Maharsi*, whose name is indissolubly connected with the history of the great Indian monotheistic movement—Rabindranath Tagore by his very descent is the heir to the indigenous culture with all its creative forces and many-sided achievements in religion and philosophy, music and art, history and mythology, philology and critique, education and social reform.

But his main achievement among his many-sided activities lies in the province of poetry. Rabindranath is first and foremost a poet, even when he philosophizes and lectures, a poet even in his practical activities and his daily life.

Although he has cultivated every branch of poetry, the very kernel of the fruit of his intellectual activity is a heart which feeds and vivifies all the members of the whole body of his creations; this heart is constituted by his lyric poems, Rabindranath is a singer of songs, a singer of his own people, in the most original and the most perfect sense a singer, as singers are only known in oriental lands. His poems, however perfect from the standpoint of pure art, are sung and recited among the people of Bengal in town and village, at work and when resting from work in the home and at festive occasions. Such a result is only possible, if poetical creation makes itself free from personal feelings and personal experiences and draws its inspiration from the realisation of what is superpersonal

and what is remote from the complexities of present-day civilisation and recognises the importance of what is simple and original. The village, nature, human life, including its beginning and its end, love and children's happiness, the simple joys provided by Nature, love of the Mother Country, longing for a more perfect life and the certainty of the existence of a loving heavenly father: all these supply subjects to the great poet. It is this combination of the natural, the eternally young, the intensely human which opens the door to our heart, and the breath of India, which, like a gentle breeze filled with sweet scents, permeates the poems of the great Indian and is felt even though translations can only be feeble reflexions of the original. Rabindranath has himself translated a selection of his religious poems into English and has chosen for the purpose the form of simple verse. We refer to his *Gitanjali*, the first of Tagore's works translated into a European language. A number of his other poems have been since translated into German. They all resemble each other in the fact that their highest beauty does not lie in their formal perfection, but in their moral and cultural value, in their being free from dogmatic fetters, free from the fetters of rites and religious traditions, in their being the sounds uttered by a loving mother, the sounds only to be heard in the garden harbouring the spirits of innocent humanity.

But the volumes containing the lyrical outpourings of Rabindranath do not permit you to forget that the poet is also a profound teacher of Ethics and a great prophet. As a bearer of a message he has appeared before the occidental world in a series of lectures, which he has delivered in English at American Universities before the Great War and which now, under the title of *Sadhana*, have been published in German translation. Tagore, in these lectures, explains his views on the relations of the Individual to the Universe, on the consciousness of the Soul, on the problem of Self and of Evil, on Self-realisation in Love and in Action, on the realisation of the

Beautiful and the Infinite, on the conception of a God without form and image, a conception contrary to that of the mass of his people. He embraces his God with all the force and strength of personal love and is united to him in living communion. To him God is not only the omnipotent ruler in Heaven, but still more the master who has appointed him to a definite place and in whose work he participates as the work of a friend and comrade whom he feels close and ever present, whether it is in the stillness of a sabbath, or when at work, whether in the dust of the working day or the crowd of the market place.

May Evil pretend to be overpowerful, as Germany has occasion to experience at present, the optimism of the Indian poet, strong in faith and full of hope, cannot be shaken. He knows that Evil is only Good gone astray and exists only to prepare the final victory of the Perfect Good. Good is Love. It is because possessed of such faith that the practical activity of Rabindranath is directed towards a union of all mankind, particularly towards the creation of a spiritual community of Asia and Europe, whose evolution has proceeded along very different paths and who, for this very reason, depend on each other for further development. The East has immersed itself more and more exclusively into the inner world of the soul and has consequently neglected to secure to itself its proper share of worldly goods and dominance over the Earth; it has remained behind Europe in Science and Technique, in Economics and Social Order. On the other hand, the West has equally one-sidedly directed its efforts to the conquest of nature and has consequently allowed its soul to become stunted in growth. This externisation and mechanization of life has led to the catastrophe of the World War, and the West will do well to listen to the message of the East.

The best among the German people are quite prepared to listen to, and to examine the message of the Indian poet. To listen to this message is the duty of all who are heir to the

faith in spiritual cosmopolitanism, which is a part and parcel of the real German character and has been consecrated by great minds, the creators of German culture and civilisation, though Germany has sometimes suffered by the excesses of a too pronounced cosmopolitanism. Germany owes it to the Indian prophet to ponder carefully over his message, the message of a man who understands and appreciates the essence of German civilisation. Has he not lately conceived the courageous and noble plan to found in his Santiniketan an international university where India and Germany, among others, are to play a prominent part in the bringing together of Orient and Occident? Both the Indian and German nations are bound together by innate idealism, and both nations have strong reasons to stand together to form a rampart against the forces of coarse materialism. Such community in fundamental ideas must, however, not make either nation abandon its very own characteristics, for neither deedless passivity nor feverish activity can lead to the real goal, and both the meditative and the active tendencies of the mind must be cultivated.

P. BRÜHL

THE INDUS

From old tradition that it flowed due south from north to the age-long idea that it entered the sea in the Gulf of Cambay,¹ from its legendary inclusion in the rivers that watered Eden to its mythical merging in a circumambient sea. From the days of Skylax and Nearchus when to descend its stream was to approach the mystery of an incomprehended vastness, to the last adventure of Burnes who with the spirit of the past travelled ahead of his baggage in impatient fret to

¹ This celebrated river was once supposed to have flowed in nearly a direct south line from its source into the ocean 'Pottinger. In almost all the Maps which hitherto I have seen the River Indus is always described falling into the Sea at the inmost recess of the Gulph of Cambaia; which is a grievous error and as wide from truth as the whole Country of Guzerat is broad (and is no narrow one) for Indus which is discharged into the sea with two very large mouths sufficiently distant, runs not on the East of Guzerat, as it should do if it entered into the sea by the Gulph of Cambain, but rather on the West, and so far from the Gulph of Cambaia that all Guzerat and perhaps some other countries lye between.'—*Pietre Della Valle, 1623.*

'I have one Observation more to make of the falsenesse of our maps both of Mercator and all others, and their ignorance in this Country. First the famous River Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya as his chiefe mouth, but at Sindé. My reason is; Lahor stands upon Indus, from whence to Sindé it is navigable, to Cambaya not so.'—Thos. Roe to Lord Carew, 1615.

Idem to the East India Co., 24 Nov. 1615.

'I will observe that the famous river Indus doth not poure himself into the Sea by the bay of Cambaya but far westward at Sindu. For . . . it is navigable to Syndu; to Cambaya not, but certayne bye-streams begotten by the seasons of rayne make mightie innundations which have cherished the error.'—Idem to Lord Bishop of Canterbury. 29 Jan. 1615.

Vid also Sir Thos. Herbert: 'Not many leagues from Surat and near the Cambayan gulf is Din.....at the entrance into the Persian Gulf .. confined by Gedrosia... a stream or arm of the Indus encompasses her so that she becomes a peninsula.'

'The next maritime Country to Sindy is Guzerat. The Indus makes it an island by a branch that runs into the Sea at the City of Cambaya.'—A New Account of the East Indies—Capt. A. Hamilton.

Vide also the Second Borghian map drawn up by Diego Ribero in 1529 to illustrate the partition of the newly discovered regions of the world between Spain and Portugal. The Indus therein is made to flow direct south to its junction with the sea in the gulf of Cambay.

view the classic stream. From days when in legend its source was in the Euphrates or the Nile,¹ to time when Tod in picturesque and swollen untruth pictured it a thread of blue water meandering along a hinterland of desert. Even from these to the present hour when its life course ends upon a lone forgotten coast, in a scene of moribund decay, the great river of Sind has had a chequered way.

Sanctified by many a hoary legend of miraculous power, here at Uchh stayed in its advance by the brick of Khwaja Khizr more effectively than any chair of Canute stopped the incoming tide; here at Alor to save a threatened maid drawn with its burden of ships from out of one course into another; identified again with Sarasvati the purifier of celestial origin; withal its title Darya Shah the title of a king. Its old courses marked with many a name of village and town, its present going one almost throughout the valley a passing from silence into silence until it reaches oblivion in the sea; its course ever westering, its delta ever extending, its path strewn with the litter and ruin of abandoned cities whose lineage is beyond all tracing. The capitals of old were its associates; far-famed emporia the companions of its advancing delta—Patala, Bahmanabad, Alor, Mansura, Tatha the first; Barbarei, Debal, Lahribandar among the second; of these not one with a lifeline clear. And the delta with its memories of the wild hopes of Alexander, reminiscences of Tatha in its prime and the spacious days of the Moguls; a land of adventure to Persian, Greek and Briton alike, now lies divorced from the life of the valley the measure of which is Karachi alien in spirit, alien in origin from its deltaic predecessors as capital or port. To-day there is something anomalous in the apparent sovereignty of the King River as it flows through the heart of

¹ Duarte Barbosa says the Indus proceeds from the Euphrates. Al Masudi and Alberuni both correct the belief represented by Al Jahiz that the Indus flowed from the Nile.

the valley in studied neglect, its sole bond of continuity with its past its name.

The enthusiasm of a Western idealism for the reputed memorials of ancient Greece has touched well nigh with sacramental touch the name of Sind's great river, and thrown over the history of the Indus a veil that conceals its realities. In the unexamined continuity of its name has been found assurance that the river's actual course has always been much as it is, and to such assumed permanence of direction Sind owes a mass of historical errors written with the gravest sincerity in contemplation of a great Idea. To the influence of an abiding name Sind owes the sweet unreason and poetic insobriety of the Alexandrian tradition, that has given to the chief settlements of to-day a legacy from Greece that they will surrender henceforth with reluctance, and to the reverence for the glory that was Greece and to its great control it owes the failure to recognise an historic inheritance from the Persian.

To Greece¹ is usually credited a modification of the Sanskrit 'Sindhu' that has given a name to a river, and to a peninsular continent; it is forgotten that the name Indus was

¹ Vid Raverty. *The Mihran of Sind*: J. R. Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1862, p. 156, n. 3. '.....the name Indus was and is unknown to Oriental geographers and historians. It was Europeanised ... by the Greeks out of Sindhu or they may have called it the Indus as being the river separating Hind from Iran-i-Zamin... and not intending it to be understood that Indus was the proper name of the river.'

Tod thought Sindhu a purely Tartar or Scythic name.

Cp. Max Muller. *India*. Sindhu probably meant originally the divider from 'sidh' to keep off. Even the Greeks called it Indos, the people Indoi, hearing first of India through the Persians. The neighbouring tribes who spoke Iranic languages all pronounced, like the Persians the 's' as an 'h.' Sindhu became Hindhu (Hidhu) and as H's were dropped even at that early time, Hindhu became Indu. cp. Pliny 'Indus incol is Sindus appellatus.'

Now 'the Sanskritis Sindhu, not Hindu from which the word Indus has come.....It is the ancient Iranians, the followers of the creed of Zoroaster, who first spoke of the river as Hindu and called the country as Hapta-Hindu. ...India the western or the European name of the country was first taken up by the Greeks from the Iranians who called it Hindu?.....the old Hebrew word for India is Hoddu. The Hebrew form Hoddu is said to be contracted from Hondu, another form of Hindu, the Avestaic name of the Indus or the Sindhu. J. Bom. Br. Royal Asiatic Soc., 1916-17, Vol. xxiv, No. 3, Art. xvi.

really taken from the Persians by the Greeks, and by them passed on to the Romans who gave it with fresh sanction to the western world ; that 'Indus' in fine is not a Hellenisation of 'Sindhu' but a Persian title denuded of its aspirate.

It remains true none the less that though in origin an Oriental name, it is because the Greeks took it to themselves that it maintained in European use its supremacy over many another transliteration of local names. Whilst the Hindu persisted in calling the river 'Sindhu,' whilst the Mahomedan historian and geographer spoke of the river of Sind and its affluents as the Mihran, the Ab-I-Sind, Aba-Sind or Nil Ab, and whilst again the Chinese¹ in obvious imitation spoke of the Sinto'u and Mila'n the European, when after the break with classic days his interest was again turned East, followed the example of the Greek. And this example came then to him with a greater appeal as it came with the sanction of the great Ptolemy whose ideas survived long with many an anachronism.

Yet if the name Indus with its double sanction has prevailed, it has not done so without some conflict with names that are feeble transliterations of the Hindu and Mahomedan equivalents. The 'Sindu' of Cosmas, of Sir Thomas Roe, Thomas Kerridge and Fryer, and the 'Sindus' so common a feature of the reports of the East India Company's servants seem transliterations of the Hindu name. Sind, Sindy, Sindeh, Sinda that are equally generally used as names for the Indus even up to Rennell's Memoir of 1793 A.D. are more probably due to elision of the Persian 'izafat' from the title Ab-I-Sind in a manner similar to its omission in translations² of the last century. Whether modifications however of the Hindu or of the Mahomedan titles such names are the usual rendering in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

¹ Vid. Hirt Rockill. Chau-Ju-Kua. Itinerary of Kia Tan compiled 785-805 A. D.

² Op. the translations of Elliott and Lee in which Ab-I-Sind becomes 'the river Sind' or 'the Sinda.' Van Linschoten remarks that the 'Portinguls have given the river the name of the land.'

of the name of Sind's river, and the title Indus is almost a literary memory save in this transformed way. Rennell's *Memoir* emphasises the distinction between these names and that of Indus by giving the former as names generally adopted by 'Asiatics' in contrast to that adopted by Europeans, thus enforcing a separation in origin of nomenclature that does not really exist. When the Greeks followed the Persians in the Indus valley, even as they accepted from them the Brahmanical wonder tales of mythology, so they took an oriental title of the river; when the Europeans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries again descended upon the valley they accepted in a similar way the oriental titles that they found in use, and in their own way attempted to copy them. And the promise of these centuries was considerable that the Persian name for the river would be lost in the names deduced from the current Hindu and Mahomedan titles.¹

The survival of the name Indus is in fact a facile illustration of the strength of literary tradition. Whilst the reports of the Company's factors, presidents and agents almost invariably contain modifications of the names still used in their time by the Hindu and Mahomedan there is a tendency for the traveller more independently to retain the title Indus. In the seventeenth century there is side by side with a mass of record that threatens to perpetuate a new title for the river, and one more closely resembling Sindhu or Ab-I-Sind than does the word Indus, a mass of literature that retains in classical imitation the use not merely of Indus but of other one-time stock of the geographer. The influence of Ptolemy after the Renaissance militates against change and preserves a title which might otherwise have been lost.

With the nineteenth century opens the last chapter in the history of the name 'Indus.' The passing of Sind under the

¹ The earliest instructions given by the East India Company for the exploration of the Indus delta (1610 A.D.) refer to the river Sindus or Saree: the record of the first voyage made to Sind by the Company's agents in 1613 alludes to the river Zinde.

control of the British was in academic wise a reconquest of the valley by the Greeks, and in the face of the unbridled enthusiasm for the tradition of Greece in Asia that characterised the nineteenth century the title hallowed by the Greeks received yet another sanction which promises to be its last. Out of the many oriental names of the river the Greeks transmitted to the Romans one that the Persians, conquerors of the Indus valley, had given it, the authority of the great Ptolemy had preserved it in centuries when other oriental titles had an influence more direct, and a militant enthusiasm that had more faith than logic revived in the nineteenth century its insidious appeal. Coloured almost from its beginning by its connection with Alexander, and its origin forgotten, it was a literary axiom to regard it as a naming by the Greeks, as something in short European in contrast to the confusion of Eastern titles, and in the belief that it was a European name Europe took it in the last century.

In the history of a name there are chance moments that forecast its future greatness, and even the retirement and self-immolation of Sind have been impotent to prevent the spread of the name of its river to two hemispheres. Parochial as is its record, secluded as the valley has remained for centuries from the larger history of the peninsula, its river has yet given its name to India and its detachment is preserved in the 'Indies' of the east and of the west. From the naming of the Indus valley India by the Iranians to the similar naming of the whole peninsula is but a sequence of time; to the chance that the first Arab invasions reached little beyond the limits of the valley is due the contrast of Sind and Hind that remained a literary distinction long after its *raison d'être* had ceased to be. The tradition that made the Indus a boundary between Irania and Hind; that made it again to the Greeks one of the natural boundaries of India; that occasioned the Arab separation of Sind and Hind; that was the bound of one of the three Indias of Nicolo de

Conti ¹ in this in part is the origin of the multiple Indias that have left a memory in the 'Indies' of to-day.

A confusion of Africa with India is as old as the Romans. It reveals itself in the India Minor of Matthew Paris, in the Middle India of Marco Polo and Benjamin of Tudela, in the India Tertia of Jordanus and in the never-ending controversy of centuries as to the location in mid-Asia or Abyssinia of Presbyter John, the half mythical oriental ruler of Christians. Our 'Indies' of to-day are reminiscent of this ancient confusion but they are even more reminiscent of an actual division of the Indian peninsula by the Indus. And thus by a chain of circumstances subsequent to its decline, a name given by an imperial race to the boundary river of its empire, became the sign through which a local river bequeathed its name to two hemispheres.

The sovereignty of the King River is indeed anomalous. Without the sanctity of the Ganges, the Tapti or the Nerbuda though it possess its Khwajah Khizr and its Daryapantis; royal but not holy. Its capricious wanderings forbidding the settlements that have crowded with cities and shrines the banks of India's great rivers, and dooming it in large to unaccompanied solitude. To the west a stream of ill known parts long after the Ganges had become a familiar association withal the partner of a valley that serve as a portal to India's immigrants and conquerors has played an obscure role, the Indus has yet by the accidents of fortune and position acquired an imperial sway. And it is not the least strange aspect of this sovereignty that the river, its source, its delta and even its course, should have remained the subject of wildest error for centuries after its name had been given to a greater whole; that the ages that found 'Indies' in the West or sought them by the North West Passage should still bring the delta of the Indus to the Gulf of Cambay, and place one of its most ancient parts in Mekran.

J. ABBOTT

¹ The last division on the old lines was made by the treaty of 1739 between the Emperor of Delhi Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah.

THE ROSE OF INDIA

ACT II

SCENE IV

[*Scene : St. Thomas' Tent, Narankot.* Curtain rises during the singing of the following hymn. Christians assembled ; St. Thomas, Xanthippus a converted *Rajah*, and Habban.]

Hymn

Father for Thy children caring,
 All in love and knowledge bearing,
 Shield our souls, by grace preparing
 For the heavenly Land.

Saviour dear, whose life-blood bought us
 Shepherd who from far has sought us,
 Safely to thy fold hast brought us,
 Keep us in Thy hand.

Holy Spirit, who hast sealed us,
 With thy tender fires annealed us,
 And from every wound hast healed us.
 In our spirits shine.

In Thy Faith unswerving hold us,
 In our Master's pattern mould us,
 In thy Presence sweet enfold us,
 Trinity Divine.

St. Thomas (praying)—

O Father, of these children gathered in
 Do Thou Thyself the gracious Guardian be.
 From every ill temptation shielding them,
 That none whose hand is set unto the plough
 Look back, or tarry on his heavenward way,
 Or fail of his eternal recompense.

To those who make surrender at Thy call
 Give faith to hold them steadfast in Thy Truth,
 And hope that knows it shall not be ashamed,
 And love that shrinks not from the sacrifice
 Of home and kindred. When the trial comes,
 And wolves draw nigh Thy flock to rend and slay,
 Our lips embolden to confess Thy Name
 In stripes, in torment, or imprisonment—
 And be beside us at the hour of death
 For His dear sake, who died that we might live.

(Addressing Christians)

Children beloved, who are my joy and crown,
 I pray for you the grace of Constancy,
 Lest aught befall us that may take away
 The hand that guides, the shepherd from the sheep.
 The King's return to Narankot is fraught
 With danger to my life—be not afraid!
 Should I be taken, for your shepherding
 Look to Xanthippus here, our well beloved,
 On whom an unction of the Holy One
 Is newly fallen for his priestly charge.
 Possess your souls in patience and in prayer.

*(Enter Magudani—rushes forward and throws
 herself at St. Thomas' feet.)*

Magudani—

O stay not, save thyself, *Mahatmaji*!
 The King hath called to arms the royal guard—
 E'en now they march to seize thee. Linger not!

St. Thomas—

Is aught of danger threatened to my flock?

Magudani—

Belike—I know not. He was sore enraged.
'And swore to have thy head ere set of sun,
Thine and the merchantman's who brought thee here.

St. Thomas—

Then for the safety of these little ones
Be first our counsel. To Xanthippus' house
With haste repairing, find a shelter there.
God's peace be with you, till we meet again—
In Paradise, if not in Narankot.

Xanthippus—

O great Apostle, who hast lit my lamp,
I leave thee only that its rays may fall
On paths of safety for thy flock to tread.

(Exeunt Xanthippus and Christians).

St. Thomas—

Next, faithful Habban, is our care for thee.
Hence, and make good thy flight from Narankot.

Habban—

'Tis not in Habban to desert his friend.
In all thy dangers bid me to a share,
But spare me this, the shame of flying them.

St. Thomas—

Nay, Habban, 'twere ill done to lose thy head
Ere to baptismal waters it be bowed;
And thou canst serve me better by thy flight.
Take ship and carry to Jerusalem,
Unto the Church my letter of farewell.

See, now I write it—also one to place
 Into the hands of Mary Magdalene.

(St Thomas writes—Magudani anxiously peering through the tent door. While he is writing, the first stanza of the farewell lyric from Act I may be musically rendered.)

Homeland and hills of mine
 Steeped in the sunset's glow,
 Regrets more sweet than ye enshrine
 No exile's heart can know.

St. Thomas (giving letters to Habban)—

God have thee in his keeping, friend. Farewell;
(Habban rises, kisses the saint's hand, then exit)

Magudani—

O hasten, *Swami*, for the love of God.

St. Thomas—

My daughter, wherefore? None can take my life
 Until Christ summon me. His will! is mine.

Magudani—

Yet e'en thy Lord would not in Jewry walk
 When the Jews sought to kill him. Is thy life
 Though in thine eyes a clog to cast away,
 Not to thy converts dear above their own?
 And wilt thou not regard it for their sake?

St. Thomas—

'Twere best regarded for their sake laid down.
 Howbeit, my daughter, lest by ling'ring here
 Thine own be endangered, we will get us hence.

(*They go to the tent door, Magudani leading the way. She throws back the door curtains—Ram Chandra is discovered with soldiers of the royal guard.*)

Ram Chandra (advancing)—

*Salaam Mahatmaji ! 'Tis hardly fit
Thou go abroad without a royal guard
To honour thy procession, though it be
Not to a palace of thy workmanship
But to the dungeon of thy just deserts.
Guards, seize the traitor. Bind him hand and foot,
Lest by his magic he elude us yet.*

(Guards seize and bind St. Thomas.)

*There should have been some other birds perch
Within this pretty dove-cote. For their flight
It seems, fair lady, credit lies with thee.
The King may take it kindly that his guest
Repay his royal hospitality
With the abetting of his enemies !
Likewise ¹ Mahadevan of Mailepur
May smile approval on the unenvied fame
Of Magudani, his kinswoman, found
Alone with a Jewish Yogi in his tent !*

St. Thomas—

*Were but my right hand free, thou devil's own,
'T would smile that lie upon thy slandering lips !*

Ram Chandra—

*A lie ? then others have been here of late.
See that his cords be tighter. Search the tent ;
And take this wanton with him in arrest
Then to Xanthippus' house, and search that too—
Ye gods, what names these Christians give themselves !*

¹ Mahadevan, in its corrupted form Mazdeus—great divinity !

SCENE V

[*As before*—Outside the King's residence, Narankot. Moonlight.]

(*Enter Treptia and Gad.*)

Gad—

How good it is to leave the banquet hall,
The flare of torches and the noise of tongues
For the blest quiet of these silvered walks !

Treptia—

Ay, though unquiet be the soul with fears,
Here one can think, and plan and cast about
For means to save our loved ones from their fate.

Gad—

Can fate be thwarted ? All the powers of evil
Have rallied to Ram Chandra's side to-day,
And to the letter wrought their agent's will.
The blest Apostle in a dungeon lies,
And scores of his disciples share his plight
From every corner of the city haled.
Xanthippus has been wounded, and rough hands
Upon a Princess and a royal guest
Have laid such insult, we shall find ere long
About our ears the hosts of Mailepur.
Ah, yonder comes the King, and in his ear
That loathsome Brahmin still his evil pours.

(*The Queen and Gad retire into shadow—Gondophares and
Ram Chandra approach from verandah.*)

Ram Chandra—

Once and for all, thou must this noxious weed
Tear from its roots and cast upon the fire.
Let not the King by kindness led astray,
Fail in his duty to his country's gods.

Gondophares—

Fear not, the root shall perish, we have sworn it.
We will despatch an executioner
To bring the head of Thomas to our feet.

Ram Chandra—

The King is pious, but withal too kind !

Gondophares—

Too kind ? What wouldst thou have, then, more than
this ?

Ram Chandra—

Much more, divine one. As the offence has been
Public, so public be its expiation,
The proud magician must be flayed alive,
Then burnt to ashes in the market-place—
Xanthippus likewise—for a sacrifice
Well pleasing unto *Kali*, who thereat
Will turn her wrath aside from Narankot.
The others, let them all be sold for slaves
From Magudani downwards. I myself
Will bid high prices in the market-place.

Gondophares—

In truth, thy counsel, Brahmin, likes me not,
Methinks it verges on severity.

Treptia (stepping forward)—

O Gondophares, what a fool thou art !
For though thou wert a hundred times a King,
To call thee fool, I claim wife's privilege !
Else little privilege dost thou afford
Thy rightful queen, to whom since thy return
Thou scarce a thought hast given—Otherwise
A godlier counsel had controlled thy mind,
And kinglier action crowned thee. But instead,
Leaning on Chandra, from his evil heart

Hast to thine own drawn poison, bearing fruit
 In deadly nightshade of unhallowed deeds.
 Know'st thou what madness thou hast wrought to-day ?
 I will remind thee. Into dungeons vile
 Scores of thy loyal subjects thou hast thrust
 For no offence but that of honouring
 The highest when they see it. More than this,
 Under thy very eyes thou sufferest
 To a royal guest a gross indignity,
 Imperilling the safety of thy realm
 When Mailepur on vengeance sets her mind.
 And now, as if it were a little thing,
 Thou talkest of beheading, nay, dost make
 But faint demur at flaying and burning live
 Two holy men, whose feet are beautiful
 With golden messages, and shod with peace :
 Whose hands, e'er since they came to Narankot,
 Have scattered blessings, wheresoe'er they went ;
 Ask of the hundreds, once with sickness scourged
 Halt, lepers, maimed and blind, by these made whole,
 Straightened and cleansed and seeing. Ask the poor,
 The naked clothed, the hungry and homeless fed.
 Did they thy gold make use of ? 'Twas well spent—
 Thy people's trust to their advantage turned !
 Should it have built a palace for thyself ?
 What if it have ? One made withouten hands,
 Of which thou yet mayst worthy prove thyself
 By mercy that sets firm the throne of Kings !

Gondophares—

Yet can I never hope to prove myself
 Worthy so great a queen ! (*Kisses her hand.*)

Treptia (falling on her knees)—

O Gondophares,
 In thy true greatness I would merge myself,

Contented but thine handmaid to abide,
If thou wouldst pardon those for whom I plead.

Gad (also falling on his knees)—

Grant pardon, noble brother! royal sire!
Ah, my breath fails me! What is this o'ercomes
My senses, chills my heart and blurs my sight?
My strength is leaving me—the pain, the pain!

*(Falls forward on his face—Gondophares and Treptia, who has
risen, rush towards him.)*

Gondophares—

Quick! a physician! Gods! 'twill be too late.
His heart is failing. O my Brother Gad!
(Enter attendants, including the mute, Tulsī.)

Ram Chandra—

Sire, he is dying. Lay him on his back—
And place this lighted taper in his hand
To guide him in the darkness where he goes.

Gad—

O, pardon, Christ, and cast not out my soul!
Into Thy hands.....I die confessing Thee.....
Is Magudani there?.....All, all is dark.....
The Apostle would baptize me. 'Twas his wish.
Yet as I am receive me, gentle Christ!

Treptia (weeping)—

O all too dear one, go not yet away!
This may not be—Sweet Christ, be merciful!

Gad—

Did the King pardon?.....Ah, she played the Queen.

Gondophares—

O brother, doubt it not.

Treptia—

He did, he did !

Gad—

The King has pardoned.....He has pardoned me !

(Apparently dies.)

Ram Chandra—

The soul of Gad is gathered to the gods !

(Wailing and weeping.)

Gondophares—

Ah, I could weep and will weep—but 'tis strange !

Snatched in a moment—he so young to die !

So full of vigour.....Let me think awhile,

How died he ?—by whose hand ?—no wound is here—

Sight darkened—failing breath—the pain—the pain—

Poisoned. Ye gods ! Who did it ? Who hath filled

The prince's bowl this night ?

Attendants (in chorus)—

Tulsi—the mute.

Gondophares—

Tulsi, the mute ! ' so this is Tulsi, then.

Wretch, that so vile a hand had power to take

A life so princely ! We will make thee speak.

Whose work is here ? Who bribed thee to this crime ?

Tortures shall wring it from thee, till thou point

The accusing finger at his murderer.

Summon the royal guard. Let none go forth

From banquet hall or garden, lest there be

E'en here the adder, lurking in our midst.'

Treptia—

Ah, now I mind me who it was who said

Some standing here might feel that adder's fangs.

Sire, Magudani heard it, Gad and I.

They were Ram Chandra's lips that uttered it.

Gondophares—

Bring hither Magudani—bid the court
Assemble in our presence—and meanwhile

(To mute)

Thou wretch, ere up to torments thou art given,
If he the assassin whose foul work thou didst
Stands here before thee, point, and thou art saved !

(Tulsi points his finger steadily at Ram Chandra.)

Gondophares (to Ram Chandra)—

Priest, thou shalt pay as high a price for this
As thou wouldst wring from others, when thou saidst
“ Flay them and burn them in the market place ! ”

Ram Chandra—

Because, divinity, a frightened slave
Points finger at a Brahmin when he hears
The queen, inflamed by jealousy and spite,
Indict me for a jest, wherein I used
A proverb of a snake—is therefore crime
Past all conception vile and horrible
To be imputed to me ? Think again.

Gondophares—

There is enough suspicion on thee fallen
To warrant thine arrest, O subtle one !
Guards, make the priest of Ram your prisoner !

(Guards hang back hesitatingly.)

Ram Chandra (scornfully)—

The King would play at soldiers ? Very good—
He shall be humoured. I will help him move
His men against me. Guards, obey your King.

(Guards surround Ram Chandra.)

Gondophares—

Away with him—and bring him up at dawn
For judgment at our throne without the gate.

Ram Chandra—

Where I will vindicate mine innocence,
And work a wonder that will bring the King
In meek abasement for this grievous wrong
Unto my feet for pardon. I will call
Upon the ancient gods of Hindustan
And in the power vouchsafed me from the skies,
Will summon to its earthly tenement .
The spirit now fled, and that illustrious Dead
Shall walk before you. In the name of *Rama*
I challenge him that in a dungeon lies,
That false magician, Thomas Didymus,
Unto a contest, prayer to prayer opposed—
He who shall raise the dead, to be acclaimed
Guiltless of crime, and he who fails to die—
The time—at noon—without the City gate.
'Tis justice, and I claim it, King of Kings.

Gondophares—

'Tis justice, Brahmin. Be it as thou sayest,
The King hath spoken it.

All—

LONG LIVE THE KING !

CURTAIN—END OF ACT II

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY AND ITS CRITICS

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar has contributed to the April number of the "Modern Review" an article on the "Present Condition of the Calcutta University." The article is sensational but bears evident marks of haste and hurry and lacks that precision and careful consideration of all available data, which earned for the historian of Aurangzib the well deserved reputation of a critical scholar. Like all real well-wishers of the Calcutta University he wants reform and expects the support of "the better type of Indian teachers working in the Post-Graduate Department." But he is afraid that "the vested interests, who are profiting from the present state of affairs in that University are naturally opposed to its reorganisation and reform." His apprehension, doubtless born of the solicitude for his *Alma Mater's* welfare, does him credit but is none the less unfounded. The Post-Graduate teachers, whether of the better or worse type, were all called upon by the Sadler Commission to submit their written evidence and many of them willingly responded. Their evidence is now public property and I am sure, it has not escaped the notice of so industrious and sincere an educationist as Professor Sarkar. Can he point out a single instance of a University teacher claiming perfection for the Calcutta University? We have all suggested various reforms according to our light. So whatever may be our fault we have never opposed reform and never will; but on what lines these reforms are to be made is a question about which, I hope Prof. Sarkar will concede, there may be honest difference of opinion. The present Vice-Chancellor was a member of the Calcutta University Commission and signed its report. The report suggests a number of reforms, some of them of a revolutionary character, so he too cannot be condemned as an anti-reformer. These

are the only people who may be suspected of having 'a vested interest' in the University and in the light of these facts I hope Prof. Sarkar will revise his opinion about them, for I am confident, he will be the last person to be deliberately unfair to those who may have the misfortune of disagreeing with him.

Prof. Sarkar invites "educationists of long standing and of more than parochial reputation, who have studied the work of the Calcutta University but can speak of it from a pure point of detachment.....to indicate the true lines of reform." Some educationists who can certainly claim a wide experience and "more than parochial reputation" have already done so. Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues carefully studied the work of the Calcutta University and the results of their enquiry and deliberation have been embodied in five bulky volumes. Prof. Sarkar might have assisted them in their arduous task by placing his views before them but he found himself unable,—no doubt owing to his scholarly labours, and lack of leisure—to co-operate with the Commission at that time. For the same reason, he failed to attend a single meeting of the Board of Higher Studies in History and to lend the weight of his experience and wisdom to the deliberations of that body when he was co-opted a member in 1917. It is, therefore, a matter of great delight that he has at last decided to devote his scanty leisure to the furtherance of University reform and to let educated India have the benefit of his opinion which the Board of Higher Studies in History sought in vain. But living at a distance of several hundred miles from Calcutta, he naturally lacks an intimate knowledge of the working of the University, and I hope he will not take it amiss if one who respects him as his *guru* presumes to place before him certain facts that may help him to form a more accurate estimate of the merits and demerits of his much maligned *Alma Mater*.

Professor Sarkar's criticism of the University administration can be divided under two main heads : (1) Financial and (2) Academic. He condemns the financial administration of the University as Micawberian and quotes with approval from a speech of the Hon'ble Education Minister of Bengal. I do not feel myself competent to comment on that speech, particularly as the Senate has appointed a Committee to ascertain and publish facts about the charges brought against the financial administration of the University. The report of this Committee is expected in a few days, and till then further controversy on this point will be absolutely useless.

I for myself agree that generally "Each University in the country should limit itself to some special field of research." But fabulously opulent England is but a small island and she has no less than nine Universities richly endowed by private generosity and substantially aided by the State. Bengal which is not smaller than England has only two Universities and until a year ago had only one. The neighbouring University of Patna persistently refuses to undertake teaching responsibilities. So far as Dacca is concerned a division of work is possible and should be made as early as practicable. The students of Bengal are extremely poor and it will be futile to ask them to go to Lahore to attend a course in Biology. How many Bengali students have hitherto been able to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Agricultural College of Poona or the Commerce College of Bombay? But if we had similar institutions in Bengal, students would have eagerly flocked to them in large numbers. A big province like Bengal should have half a dozen Universities, but since we cannot pay for so many and have only two, reduplication of work should, as far as possible, be avoided. So far we have no quarrel with our critic, but he is not probably aware that the hands of the Calcutta University are tied, inasmuch as the University is bound to undertake the teaching of a number of subjects according to the new regulations under

which the Post-Graduate Department was organised and, what is urgently necessary is early legislation and not sneers and insinuations.

Prof. Sarkar next complains that there are too many teachers and lecturers and "the method of the Calcutta University is, therefore, diametrically opposed to the principles laid down by Sir Michael Sadler, who says, "The chief problems of Universities are.....how, to lessen the prevalence of lectures and to substitute courses of guided self-training in library and laboratory without leaving the idle without discipline and the inert without stimulus." The problem is there, but Prof. Sarkar does not pause to offer any solution easy or otherwise. A moment's thought, however, will suffice to convince any teacher that it will mean a good deal of expense. We have about 150 students in the Post-Graduate History classes. A course of guided self-training in a Library for so many students will demand at the outset, a larger number of tutors than we have at present and greater Library accommodation. We shall require at least 20 copies of each authoritative work on every subject and every important section of a subject. Prof. Sarkar has warned the legislators to be careful with the tax-payers' money and may we enquire who will pay if we try to introduce the method advocated by him?

He then proceeds to say that the University teachers are overpaid. "Here it should be borne in mind, that if a 1st class M.A. serves in a College he gets much less than the University salary of Rs. 300 (the mean) though he has to lecture for at least 15 hours a week." In his hurry Prof. Sarkar has allowed himself to be guilty of an inaccuracy of which he would otherwise be incapable. Much water has flown along the Hooghly since Prof. Sarkar left for Patna about 20 years ago. A glance at the Presidency College time table and the Bengal Civil List will convince him that if a first class M.A. serves in a Government College he gets much

more than the University salary of Rs. 300, which by the way is neither the maximum nor the minimum, not even the mean as Professor Sarkar imagines, though he has to lecture *much less* than 15 hours a week." The P. E. S. men have at last got a progressive pay with a time scale. We do not grudge them their liberal scale of salary (Rs. 250-800), nor do we hold for a moment that they do not deserve it. Far from it, many of them deserve promotion to the I. E. S. But even they will not deny that as College teachers they are not financially worse off than University lecturers. Every service has its advantages and disadvantages; if the University teachers are asked to do less lecture work than their brothers in the Government Colleges, the latter have their compensation in their liberal pay and liberal pension. Government service offers a still greater charm since the abolition of competitive examinations for the recruitment of executive officers. A lucky man, if he plays his cards well, can easily secure one of those much-coveted appointments for a son or a son-in-law and thus establish an *ijara* right over the public services of the country.

The scale of pay (Rs. 150-500) recently granted to the S. E. S. men is also more liberal than what the University can afford to give its lecturers. But perhaps Prof. Sarkar thinks that such worthless folks as University teachers, "sycophants, sneaks and sluggards" can hardly expect to be compared with the I.E.S., P.E.S. and even S.E.S. men who, judging from their superior pay, paid we believe out of the public funds, belong to the intellectual aristocracy of the land as "no sneak or sycophant, no plagiarist or sluggard, can belong to the world's aristocracy of the intellect." I shall examine this theory to some length later on. It will suffice here if we simply point out that some of the University teachers did belong to the P.E.S. before they committed the unpardonable offence of joining the University staff and others have been actually lured away from the Post-Graduate

department not merely to the P.E.S. but what correspond to the I.E.S. namely Archæological, Botanical and Meteorological Surveys of India.

Prof. Sarkar appeared before the Public Services Commission as the representative of the P.E.S. men of Behar and Orissa on the 13th of December 1913, and it will be interesting to compare his present views with those he then entertained. "The Indian and Provincial Educational Service would be amalgamated into one undivided service," wrote Prof. Sarkar, "with pay ranging from Rs. 250 to Rs. 1,200 a month. For the first ten years after confirmation, the pay should be progressive, on a time scale, rising by annual increments of Rs. 25 from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 a month." He also suggested that P.R. Students should be appointed on an initial pay of Rs. 350. In his oral evidence he said—"The recruitment to the Provincial Service during the past 15 years had been rather unfortunate because out of the 18 Professors in the two Colleges there were only *six First Class M.A.'s*,¹ of whom only one was a Premchand Roychand student, which was the highest intellectual test in India. He was confident that if Government had offered Rs. 250 as the starting pay, all the 18 would have been First Class M.As'."² On the 13th of December 1913 he thought very highly of the First Class men of the Calcutta University and recommended for them a scale of Rs. 250-1,200. Most of the University Teachers graduated before the 13th of December 1913 and should be regarded according to Prof. Sarkar's own evidence as genuine coins. What has happened in the meantime that he now considers a salary of Rs. 200-300 as extravagant? We know that prices have gone up and even the cooly in the street has raised his demand.

Let us now see what a First Class man serving in a private college can expect. For obvious reasons the following

¹ Italics ours.

² Minutes of Evidence, Vol. XX, pp. 87-89.

figures have been compiled from the Inspection Reports of Calcutta Colleges :

BANGABASI COLLEGE, 1920-21 :

Total strength of the staff—43.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—8.

(Principal G. C. Bose, drawing Rs. 800, is left out of account.)

Salary varies from Rs. 120 to Rs. 500.

Average Rs. 234-8 *as*.

DIOCESAN COLLEGE, 1921-22 :

Not a single First Class M.A. on the staff.

C. M. S. COLLEGE, 1920-21 :

Total strength—20.

Two First Class M.A.'s

Pay Rs. 170 each.

SOUTH SUBURBAN COLLEGE, 1920-21.

Total strength—21.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—5.

Pay varies from Rs. 150 to Rs. 300.

CENTRAL COLLEGE, 1918-19 :

Total strength—11.

First Class M.A.'s. and M.Sc.'s—0.

CITY COLLEGE, 1921-22 :

Total strength—45.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—7.¹

Pay varies from Rs. 170 to Rs. 700.

Average—Rs. 231.

VIDYASAGAR COLLEGE, 1921-22 :

Total strength—43.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—5.¹

Pay from Rs. 150 to Rs. 604.

Average Rs. 241.

RIPON COLLEGE, 1921-22 :

Total strength—36.

First Class M.A.'s and M.Sc.'s—10.

Pay varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 650.

Average Rs. 232.

With the above figures, let us compare the mean salary paid by the University in the year 1919-20.

Pay varies from Rs. 100 to Rs. 600. (I have in my mind only whole-time officers, some of the part-time officers got much less.)

English—

Average pay less than	...	Rs. 200
If part-time men are excluded	...	„ 265
Sanskrit	...	„ 121
Persian and Arabic	...	„ 117
Pali	...	„ 115
Philosophy	...	„ 220
Experimental Psychology	...	„ 186
Pure Mathematics	...	„ 248

¹ Some of these gentlemen are University Lecturers, and as such, gets an additional Rs. 100.

Economics	...	...	Rs. 231
History	...	...	„ 246
Ancient Indian History	...	...	„ 196
Comparative Philology	...	...	„ 200
Tibetan	...	...	„ 233

The mean, Rs. 204.

The vernacular department has been altogether left out of account or the mean would have been still less. The mean pay for March 1922 is Rs. 225-4 *as.* and not Rs. 300 as Prof. Sarkar imagines. Of course we get a slightly higher figure if part-time officers are excluded. Prof. Sarkar deplored the poor proportion of First Class M.A.'s on the staff of the two Government Colleges at Patna and Cuttack. I do not know with what feelings he will view the still poorer proportion and in certain cases the entire absence of first class men on the staff of private colleges in Bengal. Certainly the remedy is not to reduce the University salary to a low level and to deprive the University lecturers of the facilities for research work that they now enjoy, but to make the teaching profession attractive to really brilliant men.

I have no first-hand knowledge of English Universities and I frankly admit that I do not know what idle fellowships were like, but it has yet to be proved that Calcutta Lecturers are idle fellows. Prof. Sarkar is evidently unwilling to let the 'sacred name of research' to have anything to do with so profane a thing as a College timetable. But when I first began what I regarded as research work of a humble character, I was told by Mr. Rowlands, a young Oxford man, then Officiating Principal of the Robertson College, that my research work should be regarded as College work and he accordingly reduced my lecture work by 4 hours a week. He regretted that he could not place a clerk entirely at my disposal to type my thesis for lack of hands. Evidently there is room for difference of opinion here as elsewhere about the concession to be made to

researchers, real or counterfeit. I may here tell Prof. Sarkar that no lawyer gets a progressive scale of pay with the single exception of Mr. A. C. Dutta, and they have to be satisfied with a fixed monthly salary; but this advantage is shared in common with many College teachers who also practise in the High Court and Police Courts.¹ Practising lawyers, however, should be appointed only in unavoidable cases, as for example in the case of Dr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, when no scholar familiar with the original sources of Islamic History was available.

Prof. Sarkar "insisted on a strict public audit and publication of the details of the University income and expenditure." He is evidently not aware that the University accounts are strictly audited every year by a qualified Government officer. His audit report is submitted to the Local Government, and is, therefore, a public property, as education is now a transferred subject. Had he not been in an excessive hurry, this simple fact would not certainly have escaped the notice of one so industrious and well-informed as Prof. Sarkar.

There remains only one more point with regard to the financial part of Prof. Sarkar's criticisms to be answered, that relating to the Press and Publication department. I admit that the Press can be made more paying by more widely advertising University publications. But if I remember rightly Prof. Sarkar himself demanded a few months ago that every thesis should be published in the interests of the successful candidates (probably in the July number of the "Modern Review," 1921), but now after an interval of ten months he has come forward to condemn the University for "the reckless issue of good, bad and indifferent theses in the name of research." Scholarly works naturally do not sell as readily as text books. Prof. Sarkar himself told me that 'it took 17

¹ So Prof. Sarkar is again wrong when he says that college Professors cannot do any other work between 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. Mr. A. C. Dutta gets a progressive scale of pay because he does not practise. There are only six practising lawyers on the P. G. Staff.

long years to sell 340 copies of his "*India of Aurangzib.*" That does not necessarily mean that the book was a bad one, and Prof. Sarkar will himself admit that he is no fit judge of all the publications of the University dealing with widely different subjects like Mathematics and Psychology.

As for the Commemoration Volumes, I wonder why Prof. Sarkar should ask the contributors to pay. He himself contributed an article to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, but I do not think that the organisers of that work ever asked Prof. Sarkar to subscribe to the expenses of the publication. Similarly the present idea originated with the University Professors and Lecturers and the expenses were met out of the University Funds. I need not tell a regular reader of the Times Education Supplement like Prof. Sarkar that in English Universities also Professors of long standing are presented with addresses or otherwise honoured. Here the University thought it fit to honour an ex-Vice-Chancellor about whose devotion to the University there cannot be any difference of opinion. Scholars were requested to contribute to the Volumes and with them it was a question of courtesy. Among those who were thus induced to offer *pūja* to the "goddess of Kalighat" were many *mlechchhas* like Sylvain Levi, Thomas, Foucher, Grierson and Pargiter and perhaps the *pandas* were so delighted at this novel sight that they forgot to charge anything for *dalīs*.¹ These Volumes were "profusely distributed gratis" for obvious reasons. Of course the contributors got a copy free. A man of Professor Sarkar's reputation has thought it fit to shower on University teachers such terms of appreciation as "sneaks, sycophants and sluggards" and has applied the no less laudatory term "of scissors and gumbottle" research to their work. Naturally the University authorities wanted to

¹ When the admirers of Sir Asutosh celebrated the anniversary of his birthday, they raised a fairly large sum by private subscription and handed over to the University the surplus of Rs. 1,000.

know what the European Scholars thought of these lecturers and their achievements. I do not know whether sycophancy is contagious and whether European savants like Thomas, Par- giter, Beveridge and Bloc have been infected, but they have spoken well, indeed very well, of the work done by some Calcutta University Lecturers.

Professor Sarkar's next charge is that the teacher examiners of the optional papers, by their undue favouritism can upset the decision of the whole Board. And he cites the following case to illustrate his statement. "An M.A. candidate secures the 4th or 5th place in the six common papers, *i. e.*, in the fair and open competition. His past academic career was not of exceptional brilliancy, as he did not secure the first place in B.A. Honours, but had come out nearer the bottom than the top in an unusually lengthened first class Honours list (peculiar to that year). Now in the remaining part of his M.A. course, *viz.*, the individual thesis which counts as two papers, his special examiners give him 96 per cent. marks and bring him up to the first place in the general result, because the examiners of the four topmost boys' special papers had not been so astoundingly liberal to them. It is immaterial for our argument that the two examiners of this favoured boy were also his private coaches."¹ The evident insinuation is that the private coaches dishonestly manipulated marks, for a boy who gets comparatively low marks in the compulsory papers cannot get extraordinarily high marks in the optional papers and one who stood low in B.A. Examination cannot stand high in M.A. My experience, however, is different. Even in the good old days some students did better in M.A. than in the previous examinations and I can cite half a dozen instances including that of Prof Sarkar from

¹ The case is absolutely fictitious. It is not however difficult to identify it since the rumour has been in the air for sometime past. Professor Sarkar will admit that documentary evidence is more reliable than hearsay evidence and after a careful examination of the University records, I have been convinced that the case, so triumphantly cited and elaborated by Prof. Sarkar exists only in the imagination of his informers.

the Calendar. Of recent cases I will give here two. Babu Kishori Mohan Gupta who stood first in the first class in M.A. History in 1914 had stood very low in the Second Class in B.A. Honours. Babu Indubhushan Bandopadhyaya, the gold medallist (History) of the year 1916, had failed to secure a first class in B.A. Honours. Ambitious students generally pay more attention to their optional papers and count on those two papers for securing a place. Even in the good old days, of which Prof. Sarkar speaks with approval, the marks of the optional papers often upset the calculation based on the compulsory papers. I myself secured second class Honours in B.A. In M.A., however, I stood second in the First Class. My total in the six compulsory papers was 345 only, but what my place was I do not know. The two optional papers were examined by Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and Prof. J. N. Sarkar. None of them was acquainted with me. As a Dacca College student I could not have any influence with the Calcutta examiners. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh had given me 63, so the total of seven papers also fell short of First Class. But I did better in the second optional paper and Prof. Sarkar gave me 84. Dr. Mazumdar and Prof. J. N. Das Gupta had awarded me 48 and 46, respectively. How does Prof. Sarkar explain this extraordinary discrepancy of marks. Evidently he had upset the decision of the whole Board. The next year my friend and college fellow Babu Indubhushan Banerjee secured the gold medal in History. He also owes his first place to the extraordinarily high marks he got in his optional papers examined by the late Prof. Bepin Behari Sen, who could have no interest in unduly booming a Dacca College student. My experience convinces me that even third class boys sometimes do better in their optional papers. Last year I was appointed to tabulate M.A. History results (it may be added that the work was honorary or it may be cited as another instance of *ghas dana* granted to a sycophant), and I was particularly

struck by the marks secured by a student who eventually got a third class degree. In three papers he could secure third class marks only, in one paper he could not secure pass marks even, two of his papers were scratched. But in the two optional papers he had secured more than 70 per cent. marks. These papers were examined by Dr. Suhrawardy, Dr. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh and Prof. A. K. Mukherjee of Dacca, two internal and two external examiners. And after a careful comparison of the marks assigned to the four halves I could detect no discrepancy. It is unsafe to base a theory on a single case, real or hypothetical. Had Prof. Sarkar studied the mark sheets of the last 10 or 12 years he would not have regarded the fictitious case cited by him as unusual or extraordinary. The question is whether under the circumstances teachers who are coaches of their pupils as well—for they have all to do tutorial work—should be allowed to examine M.A. papers and should students be granted any choice with regard to what is now known as special subjects. These are questions of broad principle. And so far as I am informed, other Indian Universities and English Universities as well allow optional subjects and have teacher examiners. If, however, the educationists of Bengal think that this should no longer continue, the only remedy is change of regulations which lay down that every University Lecturer should be *ex-officio* an examiner in the subject he teaches.

Prof. Sarkar deemed it proper to base his conclusions on a single isolated case (which had its existence only in the portentous brain of his informer) and then hastily concluded “the real point is that it is a rotten system of examination in which *one* special examiner can upset the decision of the whole board.”¹ Yet in the very next paragraph he complains that the two examiners on Chaucer were not allowed to “upset

¹ It is a pity, however, that in the case referred to by the rumour, the examiners of the thesis had simply confirmed the decision of the Board.

the decision of the whole board." Prof. Sarkar thinks that a boy who gets comparatively low marks in the six common papers cannot or should not get high marks in his optional papers. He should not complain if the majority of the Examiners in English argued conversely and concluded that students who had secured uniformly high marks in seven papers cannot and should not get absurdly low marks in Chaucer paper. I am not competent to sit in judgment over them, but it is a fact that the marks obtained by the majority of the students in one half of that paper, varied from 2 to 9.¹ It is strange that in the previous paragraph Prof. Sarkar should uphold the right of the Board and in the next paragraph champion the two examiners on Chaucer and condemn the Board for asserting its right.

After thus hurriedly disposing of two extreme cases Prof. Sarkar hastens to conclude "The Calcutta system is, therefore, the direct negation of the Oxford system of examination, where the examiners sit round a table, the answer papers of the doubtful cases are handed round, they discuss their quality and come to a common (or majority) decision that this candidate deserves a First class and that candidate does not." I have been connected with the Calcutta University for five years. Prof. Sarkar was an external examiner in 1918, since then he has not been reappointed. On that occasion he sent a report, but did not attend the examiners' meeting. Hitherto I have not failed to attend a single meeting and our procedure has been invariably what Prof. Sarkar has detailed above. But there is one vital difference between Oxford and Calcutta. At Oxford, I understand, the minority accepts their defeat in good grace and concedes to the majority honest conviction; here at Calcutta the minority runs to the members of the Legislative Council or to his journalist neighbour to pour forth his tale of woe and anguish. Prof.

¹ The Board simply ignored this paper and awarded First Class to those who had obtained First Class marks in the remaining seven papers.

Sarkar suggests a remedy for the evil, he thinks he has detected,—"an appreciable improvement in the proportion and character of the external examiners." I give here a list of the external examiners in History who conducted the M.A. Examination during the last few years. .

1. Dr. Rushbrook Williams.
2. Mr. W. A. J. Archbold.
3. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham.
4. Mr. E. F. Oaten.
5. Mr. F. C. Turner.
6. Babu Aswinikumar Mukherji.
7. Babu Adhar Chandra Mukherjee.
8. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji.
9. Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
10. Mr. G. Anderson.

These names will speak for themselves.

Prof. Sarkar is undoubtedly wrong when he compares the stamp of the mint with University Diplomas. The stamp of the mint signifies uniform value, the Diploma can indicate only the minimum ability. Even in the old days all P. R. Students were not men of equally outstanding merit. How many of them are remembered to-day? How many of them have produced a work like the History of Aurangzib? Even in the old days every gold medallist in Philosophy did not possess the mental calibre of Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal. This is true of every University. Every young man who gets a Doctorate in Science in the University of London does not turn out to be a potential Jagadis Chandra Bose and every young man who takes a science Tripos at Cambridge does not possess the genius of Charles Darwin. In the intellectual world Gresham's Law does not work. I entirely agree with Prof. Sarkar when he says of the Calcutta Ph.D.'s that "the great world outside—the only judge that counts—will take them at their survival value in the free and fair

contest of Universal scholarship." In that contest the really efficient teacher and the really sound scholar will not suffer, but in that contest their own merit and nothing else can help them. Even Professor Sarkar's adverse comments or "the talk of educational circles" behind the Sadharan Brahmo Mandir, cannot mar those who will not mar themselves.

Lastly I have to offer a personal explanation. Professor Sarkar has deigned to call me a sycophant. In his hurry he forgot to look at the dedication of my *Siva Chhatrapati* and mistranslated *Sivaji Sarkha* as 'Equal of Shivaji.' A profound Marathi scholar like him could not but translate the passage in question as follows :—"rock of resolution...like Shivaji," if he had only cared to look at it. But this is not the first time that I have been a victim of mistranslation. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, in one of his editorial notes, translated the same phrase as pseudo-Shivaji. I do not know when Ramananda Babu learnt Marathi, but evidently his knowledge of that language is getting rusty. The book, the dedication of which now marks me down as a sycophant, is an English translation of *Sabhasad Bakhar*. The translation was undertaken with the approval of Prof. Sarkar, the method was approved by him, the book was revised by him before it went to the Press. But the dedication has been taken exception to after a lapse of two years; for even in January last he received me with apparent cordiality and never in his correspondence or conversation with me made any reference to the passage he now condemns as an evidence of sycophancy. When I resigned Government service and joined the Post-Graduate department 5 years ago, I did so with his approval. I began my researches in Maratha History at his instance and under his guidance. Hitherto I have regarded him as my *Guru* and thought that he had accepted me as his *Chela*, for whenever a Calcutta student wrote to Prof. Sarkar for his guidance and counsel he referred him to me, and twice did he enquire whether I should like to accept an Assistant

Professorship at Benares when he was Professor of Modern History there. In 1917 Prof. Sarkar introduced me to Dr. Rabindranath and requested me to write a volume on Maratha History for the *Vishva Vidya Sangraha* series. I took my M.A. Degree 7 years ago. And I have during these years contributed at least 60 articles on various subjects to the leading magazines of Bengal and Bombay, published a volume on Maratha History (270 pp.) and prepared another work (The Administrative System of the Marathas) for the Press. These books and articles may have no merit, but they will prove that I have not been lacking in industry. So whatever I may be, I have not been a sluggard. As for sycophancy, it is strange that it took Prof. Sarkar six long years to discover that unenviable trait of my character. Had I been a sneak and a sycophant my published reviews of Prof. Sarkar's books might have been of an altogether different complexion. I wonder why the Argus of the Modern Review failed to expose me to public scorn if I had really been guilty of plagiarism ?

Prof. Sarkar is entirely wrong when he thinks that moral bankruptcy necessarily implies intellectual insolvency. Dryden was a moral bankrupt, but who will deny him or Oscar Wilde, or Jean Jacques Rousseau, an exalted place in the intellectual aristocracy of the world. Only a few years ago a noted English mathematician committed a very bad offence, but that did not prevent him from solving difficult mathematical problems, or deprive him of his Fellowship of the Royal Society. The notorious thief Charles Peace had to his credit some inventions, and some of the eunuchs of the Byzantine Cæsars made, although they did not write, History. Abul Fazl, a flatterer of the Mughal Emperors, did add to India's stock of knowledge. But I will and do admit that a moral bankrupt should on no account be appointed a *University teacher* and I therefore most respectfully request Prof. Sarkar not to try to lower the University teachers in the estimation of

their pupils. The teachers *can* and *will* live down the libel but ~~the~~ evil done to the pupils will never be undone.

Calcutta University may not be an ideal body, all the examiners may not be equally dutiful, all the University teachers may not be equally able, perhaps they may not all perform their duties equally well, and none is so alive to their shortcomings as the University teachers themselves. They know where reform is necessary, but they cannot allow any libel against their *Alma Mater* or colleagues to go unchallenged. That does not mean that they are opposed to necessary reforms. Constructive suggestions are always welcome, but insinuations and sneers will neither help the University nor further reform.

Our critics should remember that reorganisation requires time and mere legislation cannot work wonders. We have been often reminded of what is expected of Lecturers and Professors at Oxford, but our critics either do not know or prefer to forget that Oxford had not always been what she is to-day. My knowledge of English and Continental Universities is by no means wide, and when I speak of them, I do so with considerable hesitation. But I believe Sir Frederick Pollock knows something about the University on the Isis and according to him Oxford was by no means an ideal seat of learning half a century ago. "Work full of gross blunders and fictions," he writes, "which has not yet ceased to mislead uncritical readers, was produced almost without protest by writers at the head of the legal profession." "The days are past," he proceeds to say, "when a college archivist presumably competent in purely English matters, reading 'Nos Ricardus Dei gratia' at the head of a grant, could promptly docket it as of Richard I. In fact the next significant words were 'Rex Romanorum' and the grantor was Richard of Cornwall." But Oxford, thanks to the devoted labours of her sons, has outgrown this stage and there is no reason why Calcutta

should not prosper as well. The new system was introduced here only a few years ago, it is not just to condemn it without giving it a fair trial. What is necessary is patient work and sympathetic criticism. A system does not grow in a day or in a decade. The genius of Sir Jagadis transplanted a full-grown Banyan tree, but even his genius cannot create one so big as that of Sibpur in an hour. It is doubtful whether the genii of Aladin could perform a feat so wonderful. Said the late Lord Bryce, "The great creative spirits, men like Archimedes and Newton, the men of wide vision and profound discernment, appear from time to time, but hardly more frequently than they did in the past. The Temple of Knowledge rises rapidly, but it rises by the co-operative toil of an increasing number of trained workers, who cut, raise, and lay the stones better than men knew how to do some centuries ago. But the architects who can design a noble building and the artists who can decorate it with inventive grace are as rare as ever." Such architects and such artists are born; they are not, they cannot be, made. It is the ambition of the Calcutta University to train a devoted band of sincere workers, masons, who will work and wait for the great architects, and even this demands time. It took 20 years' hard work to make Prof. Sarkar what he is to-day. He cannot expect that the Calcutta Lecturers will be finished scholars within the short period of 5 years.

Bitter criticism, sneers and insinuations, and spiteful recriminations are, however, not unexpected though they are absolutely unjust. Sir Hall Caine has very justly remarked "Jealousies and dissensions there will be...They always come. They are not to be reasoned with. They are not always to be understood. Sometimes they are malicious; more frequently they are born of sheer stupidity. By some queer kink in human nature they are usually most active when there is least cause for them; when they are most dangerous, when they threaten chaos." At his last election, immediately before his death,

Lincoln ran the risk of defeat. In the crowning days of Washington as the father of his country he was a subject of slander and treachery."

SURENDRANATH SEN

"I WISH THE GODS HAD MADE THEE POETICAL"

(From *Sanskrit*)

I have in lives gone by
Broken Thy law divine ;
Punish as seemeth fit,
But mercywards incline,
Oh, Lord of Faces Four !¹

Condemn me not to try
Poesy to expound
To unpoetic fools,
That creep upon the ground :
Not *that*, I Thee implore.

POST-GRADUATE

THE ABBASIDS IN ASIA

IV

In the last years of Mamun's Caliphate even Khurasan could not be regarded any longer as a dependent province. In 822, Tahir omitted to mention the name of the Caliph in the prayers, and Mamun took him to task for it. Shortly after, he was poisoned by a eunuch whom the Caliph's *Wazir* had presented to him, and who was instructed to murder him as soon as he showed signs of revolt. But so powerful was Tahir's following that Mamun found himself compelled to confer the governorship on Abdullah, son of Tahir, who sent his brother as his deputy there, and only took over charge of the province after his death in the year 828. From this time onward, the descendants of Tahir became practically the rulers of Khurasan, steadily extending their rule over other provinces, without openly severing their connexion with the Caliphate, which was, indeed, more concerned with its own affairs than with those of the Empire.

Both Tahir and his son were lavish and affable. They patronised arts and sciences, and, by their winning ways and high intellectual attainments, won the affection of their subjects. Tahir's letter to his son Abdullah on his appointment as governor of Mesopotamia was regarded for centuries as a model of style, and an epitome of political wisdom. Tahir's generosity was likened to a sea, and throughout his life he maintained this reputation unimpaired. On one occasion he awarded 3,000 dinars to a poet who sang his praises. His son Abdullah was himself a poet and musician. Abu Tamman, collector of the poetical anthology known under the name of *Hamasa*, and himself a poet of the first order, was a friend and admirer of Abdullah. Other generals and statesmen

of that epoch, emulated Tahir's love and devotion to letters; notably Fadhl and Hasan Ibn Sahl.

Under Mamun science took precedence of poetry, which had then become the handmaid of power and riches. The study of history, philology, theology, jurisprudence and medicine, which began under Mansur, and continued under Mahdi and Harun, yielded under Mamun their finest results. Mamun's leaning towards the Mutazalites urged him to favour the study of Greek philosophy. He had Greek MSS. collected and translated into Arabic, with the result that Aristotle became the favourite study of the Mutazalites, and his logic the approved method of dogmatic controversy. Works on mathematics and medicine too were translated by or under the direction of Mamun's physicians, especially those of Euclid, Ptolemy, Hippocrates and Galen.¹ Along with these newly explored fields, historical and philosophical studies received fresh impetus. Even theology and jurisprudence—in spite of Mamun's despotic tendencies—secured a sure basis, by reason of trustworthy collections of traditions. As already mentioned, the Qur'an failed to meet the numerous religious questions which now pressed for solution. It had, therefore, to be supplemented by oral traditions. So long as these were handed down from mouth to mouth, there was ample opportunity for invention and distortion—most serviceable in those days of political and religious strife.

Ismail Ibn Mohamed of Bukhara—known generally as Bukhari—a contemporary of Mamun—for the first time collected and arranged the sayings and teachings of the Prophet and his Companions, and made them public under the title of *Al-Sahih*.² This collection of traditions—followed later by others—secured for the theologians a sounder basis for their study and activity. The respect in which the collectors were held—for great was their renown for piety, fervour and knowledge—

¹ I would refer the reader to Prof. Browne's recent work "Arabian Medicine."

² Goldziher's *Moh. Studien* contains the most masterly study of *Hadith*.

prevented any further appeal or reference to traditions, not found in their works. Ahmad Ibn Hambal, one of the founders of the four orthodox schools, was also a contemporary of Mamun, and belonged to the small group which openly opposed the court theology; namely, the Mutazalite doctrines. He was put in chains, and was ordered to be taken to Tarsus: where Mamun was then in residence. On reaching Rakka, information arrived of the death of the Caliph (7th Aug. 833). He was forthwith set at liberty. But he was later whipped by Mamun's successor, who like him persecuted the orthodox theologians.

Under Mamun, who caused the tongue of the famous poet Alakawwak to be cut off for praising the general Abu Dulaf, who had sided with Amin, and who had a cousin exposed for three days to the burning sun. and then executed because he had supported Ibrahim—the unbending theologians might perhaps have fared worse. But, as with other tyrants, so with Mamun, we occasionally find indications of virtue and mildness. Thus, Fadhl Ibn Rabiya, the author of the fratricidal feud, and the supporter of Ibrahim, was forgiven. And so was Ibrahim himself, though only after being exposed to ridicule and contempt. It is reported that Mamun ordered him to ascend the pulpit in a woman's dress (which he had worn ever since his dethronement, to avoid detection), to deliver a sermon, and finally to play the lute.

Mamun's successor was not the Kasim, nominated by Harun, soon after the death of Amin, whom he had probably joined. He was shelved, and in his place Abu Ishaq Mohamed, another brother, was designated as Mamun's successor. This Abu Ishaq Mohammad ascended the throne under the name of Al-Mutasim. The event did not pass off quite peacefully, for a portion of the troops proclaimed Abbas, a son of Mamun, as Caliph. But the trouble soon ended by Abbas swearing allegiance to his uncle, and acknowledging him Prince of the Faithful. In the first

years of his reign Mutasim had to deal with several insurrections. There was trouble in Khorasan with an Alide pretender. Babak and his supporters—in alliance with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel—kept busy the Turkish Afshin, Mutasim's best general. The Zat, a people of Indian origin, who had settled on the banks of the Lower Euphrates, between Basra and Wasit, held in check for several months Ujaif Ibn Anbasa, an experienced Arab general. Theophilus, with whom the Caliph had concluded peace, found the moment favourable for avenging past defeats. In 837 he crossed the frontiers of Syria and Mesopotamia, destroyed several Muslim towns, slaughtered all men capable of bearing arms, and took away women and children as slaves. At first the Caliph could only send a small number of troops to the frontier to protect his subjects against further violence and molestation. But as soon as war with Babak had ended, he collected a large army, and in the spring of 838 set out with them for Asia Minor. Afshin took an easterly course across Armenia; while the Caliph, with another general, advanced in the direction of Tyana, through the Cilician passes. Theophilus, who was then in Cappadocia, turned his attention towards Afshin, but was beaten and put to flight. Afshin, who owed his success to the Turkish archery under the general Itach, without further trouble joined the Caliph. The entire army then advanced in three columns towards Amorium, which the Caliph had sworn to destroy in revenge for the destruction of the Muslim towns. Theophilus took up his position in Dorylaeum, but did not dare to fight an army vastly superior to his; nor could he offer any relief to the sorely pressed town. The garrison, nevertheless, defended the town with great courage, until, after a siege of fifty-five days, through treachery it fell into the hands of the Caliph, who carried out his revenge in fullest measure. The town was reduced to ashes, and the garrison, along with the inhabitants, were partly slain and partly sold as slaves (Sept. 838).

On his return, Mutasim ran the risk of losing his throne and his life. The ignored, slighted, insulted Arab generals, envious of the foreigners, sought at one stroke to murder Mutasim, and to raise Abbas to the throne. Through want of care and caution, the conspiracy, however, was discovered, and the guilty found no quarter. Abbas and Ujaif Ibn Anbasa¹ were killed with thirst, and another Arab general was buried alive. Even before this there was trouble in Baghdad, in consequence of the excesses and violence of the unmanageable foreign soldiery who constituted the body-guard of Mutasim. Things reached such a pass that no soldier could with safety enter the Arab portion of the town. For this, as well as his differing religious views, Mutasim left the capital and took up residence in Samara, a town newly-built, some three days journey, north of Baghdad. Mutasim was not the first, however, to govern the Arabs through foreign troops. The Abbasids owed their throne mainly to the help of the Khorasanis, and Mamun conquered Amin by Persian aid. Even when, by reason of his fluctuating politics, Mamun could not wholly rely on the Persians, he gathered the Turkish slaves round him. Mutasim went still further. He formed the kernel of his troops from the *Mamluks* (slaves); increased their strength to 70,000; and formed his entire body-guard of foreign elements. They were absolutely devoted to him, and he could place far greater trust in these than in the Arabs, entangled as they were in all manner of tribal feuds and religious and political complications. Moreover, pressing then was the need for a standing army, to maintain order at home, and to carry on war abroad. It is to be noted, however, that at this time a distinct lack of serviceable Arab soldiers was felt. The Beduins, who in the first wars of Islam had taken the most active part (when there was no more prospect of

¹ Ujaif was the chief of the conspirators.

glory and booty), went back either to their desert or settled down in the conquered provinces, especially in the many newly-founded towns in West Africa, on the Euphrates and the Tigris, as also on the coasts of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Soon the luxurious life there enervated and enfeebled them. They lost their martial valour, and were drawn off more and more to arts and sciences; to agriculture and cultivation; to trade and commerce. Nor must we forget that about this time trade was entirely in Arab hands. Baghdad was the centre of world-commerce, both by land across Persia to Tibet and China, and across Mesopotamia and Syria to Byzantium, and by sea to India.¹ The new sources of gain and livelihood were far more attractive to the Arabs than the old military service. The Caliph, therefore, had to recruit troops from among a people less corrupt, more vigorous and of greater endurance than the luxury-loving Arabs. After the conspiracy referred to above, Mutasim inclined still more towards the foreigners, with the result that the army was gradually cleared of Arab leaders—their places being filled by Turkish and Persian generals. But between these there was neither unity nor peace for long. Envy, greed, ambition, and lust for power were their dominant and striking traits. Foreigners were they to the country and the people, and as such devoid of genuine interest or real sympathy with them.

We are now approaching nearer and nearer that melancholy period in the history of Islam when the most important historical events—having no longer any reference to political principles, or religious motives, or even the personality of the Caliphs—were the direct outcome of unabashed selfishness and the contemptible intrigues of governors and arm of leaders.

¹ The most illuminating book on the subject is "Histoire du Commerce du Levant" by Heyd. Leipzig 1885. For further information I would refer the reader to Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, pp. 45 et seq.; Makkari, Vol. I, p. 360 (note 126). Arab reference to the Genoese and Pisans. *Ibid.*, p. 393, note 52, Vol. I, Von Kremer, Vol. I, p. 300; p. 325; p. 342; p. 349; p. 352. for Egypt, see p. 353. Yakuby, pp. 119, 120, 126.

The Caliphs were reduced to the shadow of a shade—mere slaves in the hands of the chief of the bodyguard.

We shall not go into pure personal matters, but only call attention to those that have an important bearing on the Caliphate. Afshin was jealous of Abdullah Ibn Tahir, because of the governorship of Khorasan. Abdullah was wroth with Maziar, Prince of Tabaristan, for sending the tribute direct to the Caliph—since Tabaristan formed part of the Governorship of Khorasan conferred upon Abdullah. Afshin made use of this tension of feeling between Maziar and Abdullah to incite the former to rebel against the Caliph, promising to go over to him with his troops to make a joint attack on Abdullah. But Afshin was deceived in his expectations, Maziar found little or no support among his people. Abdullah's troops speedily suppressed the insurrection, and when Maziar found himself betrayed by his closest relations, he at once gave in. Simultaneously with this insurrection another broke out in Adherbaijan, which also was set down to the credit of Afshin—its leader being a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by Afshin. This insurrection, too, was soon suppressed by the Turkish general Bogha. Thereupon Afshin was charged not only with high treason but also with being a bad Muslim and a devout partisan of the old Persian religion. As there was no sufficient proof forthcoming, he was not condemned to death, but was thrown into prison where he was slowly starved to death. We should not infer from this single instance that the majesty of the law was rigorously upheld under Mutasim. Great was the following and devotion to Afshin in Transoxiana, and great also was the love which the army cherished for him. This fact, perhaps, accounts for the formal procedure adopted against him. Not without a show of justice could they very well get rid of him. In other cases we see that, even under Mutasim, law was nothing more than the arbitrary expression of the will of the Caliph, his *Wazirs*, and his generals, and that the Government when

so inclined, disposed of the life and property of the subject *ad libitem*, although the Chief Judge—Ahmed Ibn Abi Daud—who enjoyed a high reputation under Mutasim—did his very utmost to restrain violence, check arbitrariness, and uphold law and order. To the influence of this Judge, as also to that of some of the *Wazirs*, must be ascribed the continued patronage of letters, for which the ignorant Caliph had neither the taste nor the discriminating intelligence. Under Mutasim lived that world-renowned Al-Kindi, the first Arab Scholar in the European sense of the word, who by his translation of and commentary on Greek Philosophy, opened the eyes of the Arabs to the priceless treasures of the Hellenic civilisation. On the 5th June, 842, Mutasim passed away. He is known as the octonary because he left behind him eight sons, eight daughters, ruled eight years and eight months, died at the age of 48, was born in the eighth month of the year, left behind 8,000,000 dinars and as many dirhams, and conducted eight campaigns.¹

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(*To be continued.*)

¹ Suyuti, *Tarikh-ul-Khulafa* (Eng. Trans.), 348.

THE MOON

ACT I

[*Scene*: The humble interior of a village hut. When the curtain rises the room is deserted save for the heads of two old men that are peering in together through the door that leads to the street. They enter cautiously.]

1st old man: There is no one in here yet. We may safely enter. And may we not just as safely enter if there were somebody here? There was a time that you and I and Nogen talked for hours together into the advancing evening, in this very room, till the moon in its course, fell upon us as we sat there...and then we knew that the evening was no longer young and that it was time to go.

2nd old man: Ah, yes brother, I remember...though it is fifteen years since we last met together in this chamber and fifteen years since Nogen was in this village.

1st old man (nodding): Too true, brother...fifteen years... And Nogen went away from here to work in the large city, and then by some strange fortune he rose in power, rose till he became indispensable to the King himself, who appointed him his Grand Visier. Then Nogen forgot you and me, forgot even his native village, forgot the happy talks we had here together until the moon came to us and touching our shoulders whispered gently it is time to go home. To think that mightiness should cause one to forget the friends of one's childhood.

2nd old man: And to-day he has come home, back here to his native village after fifteen years, and the world is wondering what penitence it is that brought him, or what sin he has committed to incur the King's displeasure, or what jealousy has driven him from the court?

1st old man : Mayhap, he has come only to revisit the scenes of his childhood, to refresh his memory.

2nd old man : Mayhap he has come to see us?...Not he... I have heard that as is always the way with those who have risen to power Nogen possesses a host of enemies, and they have been whispering about him to the King, whispering evil.....

(Enter Nogen, an elderly man, bowed with care and humility; modestly dressed.)

2nd old man : Ah here is Nogen himself. *(Both bow low in homage.)*

1st old man : We have come to pay thee our respects, Grand Visier.....

Nogen : I pray thee, brothers, don't mock me. I return to you to-day as I went...a nobody. What I have been at court is a thing of yesterday. I have but a month to live through my early past, let me enjoy that past, brothers, in so far as it is possible for me to enjoy anything during the days that are left me. And if you will be my friends, happy am I to have you. But if you won't, pray, I beseech you, add not to the number of my enemies. .

(2nd old man gives a knowing look to 1st old man as if to say, "I told you so.")

1st old man (placing arm around Nogen's shoulder) : Friend, we are your friends, trust us. How often have we not lived in that early past of our friendship to which you have now returned. How often have we not revisited this the scene of so many happy evenings, where we talked sitting there, and talked till the night grew old, old as we are now, and the moon came in through that window to warn us it was time to go home.

Nogen : The Moon.

(He looks agitated, peers into the sky out of the window, and then looks upon the floor at the spot indicated by the 1st old man. He nods sadly.)

2nd old man : You say but a month to live again through your early past. What do you mean, brother ? The days left you ?...

Nogen (shaking head sadly. He looks out of the door to make sure he is not overheard) : This morning was I driven from the court by the King.

1st old man : Driven ?

Nogen : Ay, it is the same thing. He bad me go and fetch him the moon within the space of one month. If I fail I am to die.

(The old men look at each other.)

2nd old man : Fetch him the moon ? Who can fetch the moon from out of the sky ?...

Nogen : That's just it brothers. Who can fetch the moon from out of the sky ? It is a plot to do away with me. There were people who were jealous of my sudden rise to prominence. They have had their say, no doubt ; and the King has believed all they have told him. It is a conspiracy by mine enemies to have me driven from court, to have my very life taken from me. To think that evil should prevail so.

1st old man : Pray, brother, pray. Heaven will show you a way out of it.

Nogen : There is no way out of it.

(Enter little boy from the street, with hoop. He goes to Nogen who seats him on his knee and strokes his hair.)

1st old man : And this is your daughter Nathi's little son ?

Nogen : You hadn't seen him before ?

2nd old man : No, but we had heard that Nathi had married up in town and that a son had been born to her, soon after her husband had died.

(Nogey strokes the boy's head affectionately.)

Little Boy : When will you be well again, grandpapa ? I don't think I like staying in this quiet little place. I want to go back to that big house where I could play on the lawns instead of on the roadside, where there were so many servants to do so many things for me. I told mother I wanted to go back, but she says we shall have to stay here till you are quite well. When will you be quite well, grandpapa ?

Nogey : How can I say my child ? The doctors say some day. But I seem to grow worse and worse. How can I say if I shall ever recover ?

(The old men look at each other sadly, and at the boy pityingly.)

1st old man : My child, pray to God to help your grandfather, and then perhaps you will go back to town and to your big house and your many servants very soon ?

Little boy : How soon ?

1st old man : Very soon. But pray to God to help your grandfather.

Little boy : But will God listen to my prayer ?

1st old man : He listens to everybody's prayer. Even the little birds in the trees pray to him, and he hears them. The tiny ants pray to him too and he grants their little requests.

Little boy (reflecting) : The birds and the ants. The birds wake up each morning and say "Oh God, listen to our prayer and let us live through the day." And a man comes along with a gun and kills them. And the tiny ants when they wake up in the morning say, "Oh God listen to our prayer, and let us live

through the day," and mother goes round the kitchen floor killing them all with her slipper.

1st old man : Hush, my child, you mustn't talk in that way.

Little Boy : But it is true. (*Pat of a slipper off the stage.*) There; there's another ant whose prayer has not been listened to.

(*Nogen helps him off his knee, and strokes his hair. The child kisses him on the cheek and runs inside the house (left) with his hoop.*)

2nd old man : That a child should utter such wisdom.

1st old man : Wisdom? Blasphemy!

Nogen : I feel my case is like the case of the ants. No prayer can help me. Can praying bring me the moon? And nothing but the moon will save me.

1st old man (brightening) : I have an idea brother. And to think it has only just struck me. It came to me so suddenly. Brother, while you were away in the great town we saw pass above here men who could fly. They flew in the blue above in great big ships and went very very high. I thought at first that they were some strange birds. But one of these ships came down in a field yonder, and men came out of the ships and sat on the earth and ate like you and I, and talked like you and I. And so I knew they were human beings. Now brother, the idea that has occurred to me is this. If we looked for these men with these airships we might find them, and they would perhaps fly so high as to steal the moon from out of the sky and so save you.

(*The second old man is flabbergasted at the suggestion.*)

Nogen (smiling) : No brother, you cannot steal the moon from out of the sky. And these men with the airships of whom you speak, I have seen them too. None of them has been so high as the moon. The moon is very, very far away. And if they did reach that height,

could they take the moon away? Is not the moon fixed in its course at Heaven's ordering?

1st old man : That's what I say, brother, pray to Heaven. Heaven will help you.

(Second old man still flabbergasted.)

Nogen : Help me? There is only a month left. We must find the men. Then they must fly that high, and steal the moon. Can all that be done within the space of one brief month?

1st old man : Heaven can make all things possible. Pray to Heaven as I have told you, brother. Meanwhile there is no time to be lost. The evening is on us already. I shall myself go on the quest, and start at once. *(To second old man.)* You stay here friend, and, comfort our brother in his distraction. *(Affectionate farewell. Exit 1st old man.)*

(The other two sit in silence awhile. The evening advances and the Moon shines out. They start at seeing the Moon. Then the sense of being startled gives way to a feeling of pleasure that the Moon has not been stolen already. Lovers go by the front door in affectionate embrace.)

Nogen : Steal the moon from out of the sky. And what would lovers do thereafter? Constrained for ever to coo at each other in the darkness. Is it fair, to save one life, the life of one old man who has not perhaps one year to live through, that we should bring eternal discomfort upon all lovers!

2nd old man : To bring him the Moon. What a proposition. The sort of thing a child would ask for.

(There passes by the front door an elderly grasscutter, with his scythe. The Moon has risen and he is on his homeward journey. He pauses at the entrance and looks in.)

Grasscutter : Do I see aright? People within these rooms *(He enters.)* And if it isn't our Grand Visier come back to his native village! *(He falls upon his face meekly.)*

Nogen : Arise, grasscutter. (*He stoops to help him up.*)
Arise. No more your Grand Visier, but one of you.

Grasscutter : One of us ? Have you come then to stay with us, to live among us ? Oh, happy, happy village ! But surely it is not misfortune that brings you here ?

Nogen : Alas, grasscutter. You have spoken too truly. It is.

Grasscutter : Hai, hai, hai, hai. Misfortune ? What would I not do to help you master ? (*He falls upon his face meekly once again.*)

Nogen : No, no, grasscutter. Do not do me homage. I know your heart is true, and that you would help me if you could. But alas, it is in the power of no man to help me.

Grasscutter : Of no man to help ! How so, master ? Is it a trouble that can be told ? The telling of it and the talking about it might show us a way out of your difficulty.

Nogen (laughs bitterly) : Alas no, grasscutter. Nothing can help. Can you find me the moon ? Can any one bring me the moon ?

Grasscutter : But what to you master, seems as difficult as the moon to find, may to another seem simpler. What is the trouble ?

Nogen (placing an affectionate arm upon the grasscutter's shoulder) : That is the trouble, my dear friend, that is the trouble. The King has commanded me to bring him the moon within the space of one month, failing which I forfeit my life.

Grasscutter : Hai, hai, hai, hai. How will you ever bring him the moon ? It shines so beautifully on high (*points at the moon in the sky*) and we are down here. Can we go up there or the moon come down here, that one can seize it ?

(*The other two shake their heads.*)

Grasscutter : But stay. I have seen the moon in a tank. (*The others laugh.*)

Grasscutter : Why do you laugh ? Have you not seen the moon in the tank yonder ? I cut the grass by the tank-side

and when the sun has set and the moon has risen, it is on high as well as in the water. It dips into the tank just as our women do, and its long tresses wave in the gentle breeze that plays upon the water.

Nogen: Oh, you dear, simple grasscutter. Have you ever tried to seize the moon that you saw within the water?

Grasscutter: I have, master; but it dipped low and eluded me. I had not a fisher's net. And I am told that a fisherman once by the coast seventeen miles beyond the nearest village threw in his net into the water and fetched up the moon. I will seek this fisherman for you, master. I will ask him to seize the moon once more from out of the water and so save you.

Nogen (taking the grasscutter's hand affectionately): I appreciate it all, my good friend. But it is not possible.

Grasscutter (with confidence): Everything is possible, master. You will see. I shall fetch the moon for you. *(Makes to go.)*

2nd old man: Don't forget. Within one month it must be brought.

Grasscutter: I go now. *(Exit.)*

Nogen: Here have two loving friends gone on helpless errands. But what can they avail? Nothing. I might as well prepare to be resigned to my fate. My final month of life will be made happy, brother, in your society; and the thought that there are so many ready to do me a service will comfort my dying moments.

(There passes outside an old fakir.)

2nd old man: There's the village fakir. He reads the sky. He knows all the stars by name. Mayhap he knows something of the moon, and where it can be found. Ho fakir!

(Enter Fakir.)

Fakir: And if it is not Nogen come back amongst us.

(Nogen greets him.)

2nd old man: Oh, *fakir*, he comes amongst us needing your help. Can you aid him?

Fakir: What is the trouble, brother?

Nogen (in despair): I must find the moon for the king within one month.

Fakir (astounded): The moon!

Nogen: Yes, the moon.

2nd old man: Or forfeit his life if he fails.

Fakir: Hum (*reflecting*).

2nd old man: Canst thou help?

Fakir (still reflecting): Hum.

2nd old man: It occurred to me as we saw you pass, that here is a man who studies the Heavens. It is possible he knows all that can be known about the moon and may tell us where to find it.

Fakir: I study the heavens it is true, and know all that can be known about the moon; but not where one can find her. I know for instance that the moon rose at six to-day and that to-morrow it will not rise till seven, and that some other night it will not rise at all. Or again when for some moments it hides its face for a brief period, or hides part of its face. The moon will hide its face completely for the space of ten minutes a month from to-night. Stay. I have an idea. Brother, what say you to this? Go unto the King and say to him, "I will fetch you the moon, sire. A month from to-night I shall bring it to you." I shall have a moon cunningly devised for you, cold and luminous and round, and when the moon is obscured in the sky you can place it in the King's hands.

Nogen (brightening)—

2nd old man; What a splendid idea! You are saved brother. You are saved.

Fakir: Stay and what is the reward?

Nogen: I will give you *fakir*.....

Fakir: Not my reward but yours, from the King?

Nogen: The King has said 'I will give unto you if you will bring me the moon, my entire kingdom, renouncing it all for you.'

Fakir: And there was no talk as to whether the moon should be his for one hour or for all time?

Nogen: No talk, brother. The King merely said, 'Bring me the moon.'

Fakir: And you will bring him the moon. How fortunate that the eclipse should occur now to aid us. There will not be another eclipse for sixteen years, and that only a partial one.

Nogen: For sixteen years!

Fakir: Not another for sixteen years, and that only a partial one.

(*Enter little boy running to grandfather.*)

Little Boy: Grandfather, grandfather,—this place was simply full of ants and cockroaches, but mother has killed them all since morning.

(*The moonlight streams in at the point indicated by the 1st old man earlier in the evening, and all on the stage except the child look at it in astonishment.*)

CURTAIN.

ACT II

[*Scene*: The King's audience chamber. Blowing of conch shells. Dance by a girl before the King. The King on throne with courtiers around him.]

The King: The hour draws nigh for Nogen's coming. Tell me is it time yet?

New Grand Visier: Not yet, sire. It lacks but some moments.

The King (laughs heartily): This man has promised to bring me the moon to-night. He has not yet got it in his

possession, and it lacks but a few moments. Ha, ha, ha, ha. There is the moon, high up in the sky. Do you think he can bring it to me within the few moments that are still lacking?

New Grand Visier: No, sire.

The King: Ha, ha, ha, ha! This Nogen seems to have turned a wizard or is he attempting to delude me? When I said to him 'Bring me the moon and I will give you my kingdom, or else you die,' I had said in effect within a month you will die'; granting him out of my kindness a month to live before I took away the life that Heaven has granted him. Of course he cannot bring me the moon. Nobody can bring me the moon. And the man in his impudence has sent word to say—On such and such a night I will myself bring the moon to the King's house and deliver it into his hands.

New Grand Visier: An impudent fellow, sire. What can one expect from a village simpleton without any breeding.

The King: I will show him what it is to be impudent. And if he comes not to-night, I will scour the whole kingdom, nay the entire world, to find him; and then his punishment will not quite be to his liking. (*The King's wrath calms, and he chuckles.*)

The King: Say, does it lack many moments yet?

New Grand Visier: But one minute, sire.

(*The King chuckles. Very gradually the room darkens; the moonlight is disappearing.*)

The King (in alarm): See, the moon is going out of the sky.

(*Enter Nogen, with the moon in his hands.*)

Nogen: Here, sire, I have brought thee the moon to deliver into thine own hands at the appointed hour.

(*The King sits back startled. Nogen goes up, and hands the luminous globe into his hands.*)

The King: How cold and livid. (*Then in alarm*): It is the very moon! Only just now it was in the sky, and now it is there no more, but in my hands.

Nogen: And now, let your part of the promise hold good. Surrender your kingdom. Gentlemen, from this hour forth I am your King according to an agreement that the King has himself made. Vacate the throne then!

(The King walks slowly down from the throne, still clinging on to the moon. Nogen assumes the throne.)

Nogen: And now, you as a subject must obey me. *(The Fakir moans low outside the window, Nogen pricks up his ears.)* Surrender the moon.

(The King clings to it.)

Nogen (to courtiers): Take the moon from him, it is my order.

(Nobody moves.)

(Nogen gets down himself, takes away the moon and going to the window makes as if he is throwing it into the sky, but hands it down to the Fakir. The moonlight wonderfully streams in. Everybody is flabbergasted. They look at each other in wonder and then bow down in homage to Nogen.)

Nogen (now secure that he will be obeyed implicitly. even the King is making obeisance): And now my man *(addressing the King)* from this hour forth you are banished from court. Listen to the offer I make you. It is far more liberal than the one you as King made me. I give you fifteen years in which to fetch me half the moon and if you fail, never return again within my presence. *(The ex-King bows meekly. Exit.)*

(Enter grasscutter, who is being stopped by guards.)

Grasscutter (falling before Nogen): Alas, my master, my mission has failed.

Nogen: But your love has not failed me. *(To courtiers)* Reward this man liberally; and there will come presently an old man who went seeking airships to snatch the moon from out of the sky. Reward him too liberally. He meant well.

CURTAIN.

R. J. MINSEY

AUGUST STRINDBERG

V

NEW FAITH

Under the head of "theme and treatment," a gradual growth has already been to some extent traced in Strindberg's attitude to the problems of life. But we have reserved for a separate consideration one important topic, *viz.*, his treatment of the theme of *love* at different stages in the progressive growth of his mind and art. This, it is hoped, will more convincingly bring home to his readers the momentous change in his outlook on life, the development from the *intellectual to the spiritual* phase in his dramatic career and the birth of his new faith.

The naturalistic plays mostly deal with love considered mainly in the light of a biological factor and in them it is represented generally as taking the form of sex-battle ending oftener than not in the conquest of woman by man and occasionally in the exploitation of man by woman. Sex-attraction and sex-repulsion are the forces recognised as principles regulating the relations of man and woman.

Maurice in *There Are Crimes and Crimes* succumbs to the bewitching powers of the Astarte-like Henriette who lures men to ruin. His conscience cannot be totally deadened. It torments him for broken faith with his betrothed Jeanne—so simple, self-sacrificing and devoted—yet he is irresistibly drawn into the snares of the new attraction—the charming company of this *La belle dame sans merci* who is ready to desert Adolphe without a qualm. Maurice and Henriette decide to sacrifice their best friends, helpers, well-wishers on the altar of their new passion and enjoy a new life in a new era, freed from old bonds of love and friendship, relieved of

social burdens and lingering memories that may inconveniently connect them with the past. With savage imperiousness this woman robs poor Jeanne of a betrothed lover, innocent Marion of a father, and sincere Adolphe of a friend; throws into the fireplace Jeanne's love-tokens; roughly silences Maurice's scruples by calling him a "Philistine who will never be an artist" and triumphantly refers to her unnamed crime as something that "placed her outside and beyond life, society and fellow-beings."

Jeanne as contrasted with Henriette in this play is, by the way, somewhat of a counterpart of the "wordless" character¹ Miss Y introduced with rare skill into *The Stronger* (1890), and the final moral triumph is on her side, though she is temporarily defeated by the stronger Henriette who possesses some of the characteristics of a "vampire nature" as described by the author in his *Dance of Death*. The vampire, we are told, "will crawl into another's life when he (or she) feels his life slipping away, interfere with other people's destinies, suck interest out of other existences, regulate and arrange the doings of others, take one's friends away to make them his (or her) own"²—"is an insect, one of those wood-borers, that eat up your insides so that one day you find yourself as hollow as a dying pine tree."³ We must not digress beyond barely referring in this connection pre-eminently to plays like *The Comrades* (1888) and *The Creditors* (1890) and secondarily to *The Father* (1887) and even *Miss Julia* (1888).

As regards this biological treatment of love, we have already noted how Captain Edgar and his wife Alice are made in the *Dance of Death* to swing like a pendulum between love and hatred (both of a 'queer type) alternately attracted and repulsed by what Curt designates their *love-hatred*.⁴ A

¹ Cf. Pp. 174 and 175, Second Series of Strindberg's Plays.

² Cf. *Dance of Death*, Part I (p. 191, First Series).

³ Cf. *Ibid*, Part II (pp. 232-33, First Series).

⁴ Cf. Vol. II, No. 1, p. 117 of the Calcutta Review.

distinct change is observed in Part II of the play exemplifying a notable modification in the treatment of an old theme discernible in the Judith-Allan love episode running as a silver thread through the coarse warp and woof of the main theme. At the outset, love's dawning in Judith manifests itself as sex-attraction masquerading, however, in a sweet idyllic fashion as girlish sex-duel. To her unsympathetic mother Alice, Judith is a chip of the old block—one who inherits from her father Captain Edgar the family trait of trampling others down and bullying them for mere fun. Young Allan, too, at first condemns her as cruel and rude. A better judge, Curt, sympathetically characterizes her as a *fine girl* though a bit imperious. This coquettish creature plays the little tyrant with the bashful Allan (in the opening scene) whom with feminine naughtiness she torments with love's delicious ancient pin-pricks. In vain does the love-bewitched poor young man fret and fume with the piteous cry "I am your slave. The slave must be tortured." We shall here just refer to Old Shakespeare who knew the secret much better than all of us put together.

With a woman's unerring instinct Judith next detects that Allan can yet appreciate the torturer's company. Instantly she adds a pinch of spice—that of playful banter rich in romantic flavour: she offers to help him in his examinations by her influence with his teacher-examiner, the Lieutenant, of whom, sure enough, the timid youth is a bit jealous as his rival in love! Allan's futile taunt—"You want to eat me. You want to put your beautiful eyes in pawn to get possession of my head" is quickly met by the beautiful and grand retort from her—"Oh, you have been looking at my eyes? I didn't expect that much courage of you." Unable to tear himself away from the glamour of love's delicious witchery, Allan in his torments seeks solace for a jealous and wounded heart by burying his face in Alice's bosom even though Alice is

cynical in her attitude towards this romantic love affair. Thus here Strindberg's naturalism is tempered with romanticism. Orthodox criticism will notice in this a reversion to the author's *early* manner. That need not imply, however, anything like a symptom of atavism. We prefer to call it a rich blend—the fruit of riper days of æsthetic development.

Now, love makes Judith, though yet girlish in her pranks, suddenly heroic in resolve and she proves how a girl can strike a decisive blow for one she really likes. With a woman's firmness she resents Captain Edgar's undue paternal interference with her freedom of choice when he arranges for her a marriage of convenience with the Colonel, an old widower. Straight comes her appeal to whom but Allan and that in these burning words—"Yes, Allan, 'tis unbearable here—here, where they speculate—in soda and human beings!"

Once more we note in passing Strindberg's revolt against external pressure or outside interference hampering the free growth of one's personality.

We next come across Judith in her new role—Judith, who did not at first understand why *men* should "run around and weep in the woods" or should suffer so intensely at the thought of ill-requited love but has learnt anon the whole mystery of love, now exclaims—"how it hurts—oh!"—"the way it feels like choking as if one is going to die!" Oh, no; she was not in fact *cruel* to Allan, she explains—only "she didn't know better." Assuredly Strindberg means to show here the working of genuine and deep love in budding womanhood as distinguished from mere sex-attraction.

They now plight eternal troth and in the powerful love scene that follows we behold two beautiful selfless young people in a halo of romance united soul to soul by a strong love that alone knows how to dare and set the whole world at naught. In the exuberance of youthful emotional fervour Judith proposes a piece of romantic adventure even at the moment of her oppressive grief—

flight from the prison life in her father's house "inside of a round fort built of granite" symbolically representing her severe isolation from all healthy influences. There is a Shelleyan touch in Judith's visionary flight when she says to Allan—"Let us go together—we'll take the small boat, the little white one—and we'll sail far out * * * till we founder—* * But we should have washed the sails yesterday—they should be white as snow—for I want to see white in that moment—and you swim with your arm about me until you grow tired—and then we sink—"

Judith, the girl, has become transformed by the magic touch of love. The new phase of love presented here is very interesting and suggestive in itself but more so as an evidence both of the author's tendency in the last period of his career to return to his early romanticism and of the growing new faith in him which reaches a higher stage of development in *Swanwhite* (1902) viewed as a symbolic and mystic presentation of love in which the theme takes on a new colouring and receives a new handling. It is also necessary to observe an important change in Strindberg's attitude to womanhood through his new treatment of love. The old sexual duel is now replaced by a new vision of the relations between man and woman ideally presented in the mysterious love that binds the souls of Swanwhite and her Prince by a heavenly tie. To the Prince's query as to who is the rightful *owner*, Swanwhite's simple and compelling reply is contained in a short monosyllable—"both"! In the poet's language.

" Thus she with happy favour feeds
 Allegiance from a love so high
 That thence no false conceit proceeds
 Of difference bridged. * * * * *

Sex-barrier, if any, is completely broken down by the puissance of love, not manifested in "sensations sweet, felt in the

blood" nor in vulgar contentions for sexual supremacy, but "passing even into the pure" soul "with tranquil restoration"; for, it is love that dissolves and fuses two hearts into a sacred unity and transcends "mortal blisses."

This is powerful, profound and mysterious—deep calling unto deep and soul answering soul. Swanwhite's are, verily,

"Keen lips that shape soft sayings
Like crystals of the snow,
With pretty half betrayings
Of things one may not know."

We are next led to a brief dialogue, as sweet as suggestive, (p. 56, Third Series) accompanied by an equally valuable symbolic stage-direction so closely associated with the development of Strindberg's art in the last phase of his dramatic career. Love's potency—"bright still from heaven"—is seen in the mysterious change in the "Step-mother" and her three "Maids" when Swanwhite exclaims—"so that is love? Blessed be it by the Lord! The Lord Omnipotent who made the world!" The fulness of her bliss melts into sacred tears of joy. The Prince may say, in response, with the poet,

"We carry the Heaven, with us, dear,
While the Earth slips from our feet."

Yet a human touch is lent to this love, white as a lily, by Swanwhite's yearning to "have each other," even though in sleep the loving pair did "walk hand in hand within the land of dreams" from which at daybreak the Prince came to greet his heart's beloved. She insists "I want you in my arms! Against my heart I want to feel the beat of yours—upon your arm I want to sleep—"

Held fast in a sacred embrace they are merged in each other; for, "the Prince" exclaims—"Lost both of us! For

"I am you, and you are me!" and the girl's response is "we two are one till" the Prince gratefully finishes off—"God, who is good, has heard your prayer! We have each other!"

They realise that this is the promised eternal bliss that has no flaw and knows no end. We have once before spoken of Strindberg's quest of the holy grail of true love and here the quest ends.

Indications of this growing faith in love's redeeming power are dimly visible in the romantic touch in his *Dream Play* (1902) where "The Officer" wistfully waits for "his Victoria" making the "Daughter of Indra" observe "what she is to us and others matters nothing to him. And what she is to him that alone is her real self." The "Daughter" ultimately believes that "life is hard—but love overcomes everything" and "the Poet" says "lay not hands on love! It is treason!—"

But this new ideal of redemption by pure love is beautifully worked out in *Swanwhite* in a convincing dramatic manner in the scene representing a miraculous change in "The Stepmother" (p. 54) who after all her machinations is thrown into temporary ecstasy at the heavenly sight of the happy lovers locked in each other's arms in deep sleep with the Prince's sword symbolically placed between them. Her wicked jealousy and inhuman cruelty yield to love and joy at the blessed sight than which, she avers, nothing more beautiful she has ever beheld—"two roses brought together * * two falling stars that join * * it is too beautiful!—Youth, beauty, innocence and love!" Wonder of wonders! "The Stepmother" becomes altruistic finding joy in the happiness denied to herself and rejoicing at other's happiness—"some kind of joy, at least, at other's love"—and though the thought of her own daughter Magdalene soon very naturally alters this mood she still cries out—"O love omnipotent—eternally creative Lord—how you

have rendered soft this lion's heart! Where is my strength? Where is my hatred—where my revenge?"

A finer and more mystical note is struck towards the close of the play. Seized by passionate longing for his beloved Swanwhite, "The Prince" ventured to swim back the straits and dropped dead with her sweet name on his lips! "The Fisherman" briefly tells how the young Prince's corpse, dashed ashore on the white sand by the raging sea, presented an awe-inspiring sight—with smiles on his lips and his cheeks rosy with beauty and youth—to the beholders gathered on the shore who cried aloud—man saying unto man—"lo! this is love!"

Finally, when "the Duke" remonstrates with his daughter, Swanwhite, that "what was loved in life has little worth beyond," her indomitable faith in renovating love fills her with hope that "should love's power not extend to the other side of death, the gracious Lord will let him out of heaven"—yea, "he must come to me—back to this earth." As in the case of the Hindu wife Savitri or of Laodamia, the Greek dame, deathless faith and constancy is rewarded with fruition and the marvellous result of bringing "the Prince" back to life follows from Swanwhite's innocent self-effacing love—love that is the regeneration of "The Stepmother" and which means resurrection and re-juvenation to "the Prince." The curtain may be allowed to fall on the words of the erst hostile and vengeful "Stepmother"—now the newly converted Duchess—"Blessed be love which can work miracles like that!"

(To be continued)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LICCHAVIS OF ANCIENT INDIA

The Licchavis were included in the great Vajjian Confederacy that dominated over the Vajji or Vṛijji Country. But sometimes Vajji and Licchavi were used indiscriminately as synonyms. At the time that Buddha lived, "the Vajjis were divided into several clans such as the Licchavis, the Vaidehis, the Tirabhuktis and so on and the exact number of these clans would appear to have been eight, as criminals were arranged before the Aṭṭhakūlakā or eight clans, which would appear to have been a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe."¹ All these Vajjis lived in great amity and concord which was a particular mark of their confederacy and this union coupled with their martial instincts and the efficiency of their martial institutions made them great and powerful amongst the nations of north-eastern India.² Their sympathy for one another was exemplary. If a Licchavi fell ill, the other Licchavis came to see him. The whole clan would join any auspicious ceremony performed in the house of a Licchavi; if any foreigner of rank and power paid a visit to the Licchavi capital, they would all go out in a body to receive him and do him honour.³ The young Licchavis were very handsome in appearance and very fond of brilliant colours in their dress and equipages.⁴ The Buddha on his first meeting with the Licchavi nobles in their gay attire and rich and splendid equipages of various colours was led to compare them to Tāvātimsa Gods. A similar account we get from the Mahāpariṇibbāna Suttanta when the Licchavi

¹ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 447.

² *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Vol. XI, p. 3; vide also Turnour, *Pāli Buddhistical Annals*, No. 5, J. A. S. B. Dec. 1833, p. 992.

³ *Sumangala-Vilāsini* (Burmese), pp. 103-105.

⁴ *Walters, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 79.

nobles went out for the last time to meet the Blessed One as soon as they learned that he had arrived at Vaiśālī and was staying at the Mangoe-grove of Ambapālī in the outskirts of their city. "Ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted them and proceeded with their train to Vesālī. Some of them were dark,¹ dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments: some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments: some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments."² Exactly the same description of the colours favoured by the Licchavis is given in the *Anguttara Nikāya*,³ which shows that the Licchavis wore these colours not only on great festive occasions but in their ordinary daily life also. Once when the Enlightened One was staying at the Kuṭāgārasālā in the Mahāvana, five hundred Licchavis were seated round him doing obeisance. Some of them were *nīla* or blue all over in clothes and ornaments and similarly others were yellow, red or white. We may compare these descriptions with the more detailed account in the *Mahāvastu* of the colours preferred by the Licchavis. Thus says the Sanskrit Buddhist work: "There are Licchavis with blue horses, blue chariots, blue reins and whips, blue sticks, blue clothes, blue ornaments; blue turbans, blue umbrellas and with blue sword, blue jewels, blue footwear and blue everything befitting their youth"⁴ and here the *Mahāvastu* quotes a verse, apparently from an older work or a traditional saying. In the very same terms the *Mahāvastu* speaks of the Licchavis decked all in yellow (*pita*) and in

¹ *Nīla* (*Digha-Nikaya* Vol. II p. 96.) has been translated as "dark" by Prof. Rhys Davids; though for the complexion this may be a fair rendering, it is not so for the attire and the equipage.

² *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 31.

³ *Anguttara Nikāya* PTS, Part III, p. 239.

⁴ *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 259, for the text. The author is responsible for the English translation.

light red, the colour of the Bengal Madder (*Manjiṣṭha*), in red (*lohita*), in white (*śveta*), in green (*harita*), and some in variegated colours (*vyāyukta*).¹ Perhaps the Licchavis were divided into separate clans, as Senart suggests, by the colour worn by each; otherwise it is difficult to explain why the same colour should be preferred in the trappings of the horses, the decorations of their carriages, as well as the articles of dress adorning their own persons. There was moreover a profusion of gold and jewels in everything in their equipage. Besides those in the carriages drawn by horses, there were others on gold-bedecked elephants; others again in palanquins of gold set with all kinds of precious stones. Altogether there went out of the city of Vesālī twice 84,000 conveyances decked in pearl and gold, with all the wealth and splendour of kings (*rājarddhiye* and *samṛddhiye*).

All this speaks of a people who were greatly prosperous and in affluent circumstances and it may be expected that they would be given to luxury and indolence. But this was not their character at the time that Buddha lived and preached among them. The *Saṃyutta Nikāya* preserves a saying of the Exalted One: "Look ye Bhikkhus here, how these Licchavis live sleeping with logs of wood as pillows, strenuous and diligent (*appamattā*), zealous and active (*ātāpino*) in archery. Ajātasattu, Vedehiputto, the Magadhan King, can find no defect in them nor can he discover any cause of action (against them). Should the Licchavis, Oh Bhikkhus, in the time to come, become very delicate, tender and soft in their arms and legs, should they sleep in ease and comfort on cushions of the finest cotton up till the sun is up in the heavens, then the Magadhan king, Ajātasattu, Vedehiputto, will find defects and will discover cause of action."² This testimony of the Buddha goes to show that the Licchavis

¹ We have here followed the interpretation suggested by Senart of the word *Vyāyukta* (*vide Mahāvastu*, note, p. 574); this meaning however is very doubtful.

² *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, P. T. S., Part II, pp. 267-268.

were hardy and active, ardent and strenuous in their military training so that their enemies could have no chance of getting them at a disadvantage.

They were fond of manly sports such as hunting. The *Anguttara Nikāya* narrates how a large number of Licchavi youths, armed with bows ready with the strings and set and surrounded by a pack of hounds, was roving about in the Mahāvana but finding the Buddha seated at the foot of a tree in the forest, threw away their bows and arrows and sending away the pack of hounds, sat by the Great Teacher, subdued by his presence, silent and without a word, in a reverent attitude with the palms joined. A Licchavi of apparently advanced years, Mahānāma by name, who came to pay his respects to the Buddha, expressed his great wonder at the sight of the Licchavi youths, full of life and vivacity, notorious for their insolent and wanton conduct in the city, thus sitting silent and demure, in an attitude of reverence before the Great Teacher; he pointed out the defects in their character, the defects that are found in youngmen of every country where the people are rich and powerful and of a high temperament. "The Licchavi youths oh Lord!" goes on Mahānāma, "are rude and rough and whatever presents are sent to the families, sugarcanes or plums, cakes, sweetmeats or preparations of sugar, these they plunder and eat up, throw dust at the ladies of good families, and girls of good families; such youngmen are now all silent and demure, are doing obeisance with joined palms to yourself, O Lord."¹ Here we get an insight into the daily life of these young cockneys glorying within the walls of the city of Vaiśālī. It shows that the young Vaiśālīans, though they indulged in the pranks and peccadillos of youth, were not so wild as to lose all sense of reverence or respect due to religious men.

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya*, P. T. S., Part III, p. 76.

“ In the Buddha’s time the young Licchavis of the city,” says Watters, “ were a free, wild, set, very handsome and full of life and Buddha compared them to the Gods in Indra’s Heaven. They dressed well, were good archers, and drove fast carriages, but they were wanton, insolent and utterly irreligious.¹ ” This is an exaggeration and was probably based on the Chinese translations of such passages as the following from the *Lalitavistara* where some of the *Tuṣita* gods were pointing out the defects in the character of the *Vaiśālīans*. When their city was recommended by others among them as a suitable place of birth for the *Bodhisattva*, these *Devaputtras* in the *Tuṣita* heaven averred, “ *Vaiśālī* is unfit. What is the reason ? Look here they do not speak with propriety towards each other, there is no practice of religion among them, nor obedience to those in high or middle position, nor to the old and the elders. Each one of them thinks, ‘ I am a king and I am a king.’ They do not accept the discipleship of anyone nor the religion of any one. Therefore is *Vaiśālī* unfit.”² Whatever might have been the opinions of these ‘ Sons of Heaven ’ before the birth of the *Bodhisattva*, they must have changed their opinions about the people of *Vaiśālī* who showed such remarkable veneration towards the Enlightened One and received such marked favours from him. Do we not often read of five hundred *Licchavis* visiting him at the *Kuṭāgāraśālā* surrounding him and doing obeisance to him ? The only conclusion we can draw from the above account in the *Lalitavistara* is that the *Licchavis* were rather independent in character and would not easily accept a subordinate position to any one whether in politics or in religion or in ordinary daily life.

Then again the statement that the *Licchavis* did not respect their elders or were irreligious is in direct contradiction of what the Buddha said about them to *Vassakāra*, the

¹ T. Watters on *Yuan Chhâng*.

² *Lalitavistara*, ed. E. Lefmann, Vol. I. p. 21.

Magadhan minister : "So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—... .. so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper."¹

Theft was almost unknown among the Licchavis as a passage in the Vinaya Piṭaka indicates.²

Vaddha, a Licchavi, at the instigation of some dishonest Bhikkhus, had preferred a false charge of adultery against Dabba, a Mallian, but Vaddha afterwards made a clean breast of the whole ugly plot as soon as he saw the measure of his iniquity.³

The young Vajjians, of whose martial instincts and sportsmanlike character we have got evidence above, appear to have been in the habit of training elephants. Among the Psalms of the Brethren (Theragāthā) we find one composed by Vajjiputta, the son of a Licchavi Rājā at Vesālī who became known among the followers of Buddha as the Vajjian's son and who in his early life was engaged in training elephants.⁴

Besides being partial to these manly arts of war and sports, the Licchavis were great lovers of fine arts too.

The Licchavi young men went to distant countries for their education. We read of a Licchavi named Mahāli who went to Taxilā to learn Śilpa or the arts and returned home after completing his education. It is said that he in his turn trained as many as five hundred Licchavis, who also, when educated, took up the same work and in this way education in arts spread far and wide among the Licchavis.⁵

¹ Dialogues of the Buddha, Part II, p. 80.

² Vinaya Pitakam, Ed by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, Bhikkunī-Vibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa, pp. 225-226.

³ Vinaya texts, S.B.E., Pt. III, pp. 118-125.

⁴ Psalms of the Brethren, Translated by Mrs. Rhys Davis, p. 106.

⁵ Fausboll—Dhammapadam. (old ed.), p. 211.

Artisans such as tailors, goldsmiths and jewellers must have been very much in requisition at the city of Vaiśālī to furnish the gay robes of seven thousand seven hundred and seven *rājās* or nobles, and we can very well imagine what a great strain these artisans were put to in order to devise suits of dress and ornaments to fit up the various coloured Licchavis, the blues, the reds, the yellows, the greens and the whites.

The art of building also was much developed in Vaiśālī; the sumptuous palaces of the Licchavis are spoken of in the *Lalitavistara*.¹ They were equally enthusiastic in the building of temples, shrines, and monasteries for the Bhikkhus and we are told that the Bhikkhus themselves superintended the erection of these buildings for the order. The *Cullavagga* of the Vinaya Piṭaka tells us also how when on one occasion the Enlightened One was staying at the peak-roofed hall in the Mahāvana, "the people were zealously engaged in putting up new buildings for the use of the order), and as zealously provided with the requisite clothes, and food, and lodging, and medicine for the sick, all such Bhikkhus as superintended their work."² We are further told how a poor tailor of Vaiśālī intent on building a house for the Saṅgha raised the walls of such a house, but, as the *Cullavagga* tells us, "by his want of experience the laying was out of line and the wall fell down." Then the poor tailor felt disturbed, grew angry and murmured thus:—"These Śākyaputtiya Samaṇas exhort and teach those men who provide them with the requisite clothes, food, lodging, and medicine, and superintend their buildings for them. But I am poor and no one exhorts or teaches me or helps me in my building."³ This passage shows that some of the Bhikkhus themselves were

¹ *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 3, p. 23. (Biblio Indica Series.)

Cullavagga, VI. 5. Translated by Drs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S.B.E., XX, pp. 189-190.

² *Ibid*, p. 190.

master builders who supervised the erection of houses for the Buddhist order, just as in the mediæval times in Europe we find the monks excelling in many of the fine arts including painting, sculpture and architecture. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī had built many shrines or caityas inside and outside their great city and we have seen from the Mahāvastu passage quoted in the last chapter, with what great liberality and magnanimity they delivered over the best among them to Buddha and the Buddhist Church. That these caityas were beautiful and noble buildings where one might prefer to dwell as long as one liked, even to the end of the kalpa, appears from a passage in the Dīgha Nikāya where the Buddha while staying at the Cāpāla Caitya said about each of the caityas that it was charming and then suggested to Ānanda that the Tathāgata might be inclined to live there for a kalpa¹ or the remaining part of a kalpa, meaning perhaps that in such beautiful surroundings life would be pleasant and worth living.

About the marriage rites of the Licchavis, it is said in the Tibetan books that there were rules restricting the marriage of all girls born in Vaiśālī to that city alone. They state "the people of Vaiśālī had made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, not in the second or third; that one born in the middle district could marry only in the first and second; but that one born in the last district could marry in any one of the three; moreover, that no marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī."² A passage in the Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga Saṅghādīśa,³ indicates that a Licchavi who wanted to marry could ask the Corporation or the Licchavigaṇa to select a suitable bride for him.

They appear to have a high idea of female chastity; violation of chastity was a serious offence amongst them.

¹ Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 58.

² Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

³ *Bhikkhuni-Vibhaṅga Saṅghādīśa II*. Vinaya Pitakam, Ed by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, p. 225

Buddha himself says that "no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction."¹ The *Petavatthu Atthakathā* gives a story of a Licchavi *Rājā* named *Ambasakkhara* who was enamoured of the beauty of a married woman whose husband he engaged as an officer under him ; he wanted to gain her love but was foiled in his attempts.²

The punishment for a woman who broke her marriage vow was very severe, the husband could with impunity even take away her life. But even an adulterous woman could save herself from the punishment by entering the congregation of nuns by getting the *pabbajjā* ordination as can be seen from the *Bhikkhunī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādisesa*.³

A Licchavi wife committed adultery. The husband warned his wife many times but she heeded not. The Licchavi informed the Licchaviṅga that his wife had committed adultery and he was willing to kill her and that he asked the Gaṇa to select a suitable wife for him. When she heard that she would be killed, she took her valuables, went to *Sāvātthi* and asked for *Pabbajjā* (ordination) from the *Titthiyas*, by whom, however, she was refused ; then she went to the *Bhikkhunis* who in a body also refused ; she then went to a *Bhikkhunī*, who was persuaded to give ordination to her and thus she was successful. The Licchavi went to *Sāvātthi* and saw his wife ordained, complained to the king *Pasenadi* of *Kosala* who asked him to show her wife. The Licchavi informed the king that she had become a *Bhikkhunī*. The king said that as she had become a *Bhikkhunī*, no punishment could be inflicted on her.

After the occurrence of this event, an agitation was going on among the Licchavis who reported the matter to the Buddha who told the *Bhikkhunis* that they should not give

¹ *Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 3 and 4.

² *Petavatthu Atthakathā*, Sinhalese Ed. Simon Hewavitarane's Bequest Series, No. 1, pp. 154-156.

³ *Vinaya Piṭaka*, by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, pp. 225-226.

ordination to such a woman.¹ Thus we see that cases of adultery were tried by the Licchavigana.

They used to kill animals on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of the lunar months and eat their flesh.²

There are various methods prevalent among the Licchavis with regard to the disposal of the dead. Besides cremation and burial in the earth, the custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals seems also to have been in existence in Vaiśālī. When the Bodhisatta was at Vaiśālī, he is said to have observed a cemetery under a clump of trees and enquired about it from the R̥ṣis who explained that the corpses of men were exposed to be devoured by the birds and there they used to collect and pile up the white bones of dead persons. They burnt corpses there and the bones were preserved in heaps; the corpses were hung from the trees by them; there were others buried such as had been killed by their relatives fearing lest they should be born again while others were left upon the ground that they might go back, if possible, to their former abodes.³ Dr. Vincent Smith says that it proves a belief that the ancient inhabitants of Vaiśālī disposed of the dead "sometimes by exposure, sometimes by cremation, and sometimes by burial."⁴

The Licchavis had various festivals, of which the Sabbarattivāro or Sabbaratticāro was the most important. At the Sabbaratticāro festival, songs were sung, trumpets, drums and other musical instruments were used.⁵ When a festival took place at Vaiśālī, all the people used to enjoy it and there were dancing, singing and recitation.⁶

BIMALACHARAN LAW

¹ Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga Saṃghādidesa., Vol. II, p. 225.

² Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil), p. 136.

³ Beal's Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, pp. 159-160.

⁴ Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXXII, pp. 233-236.

⁵ Saṃyutta Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 201-202.

⁶ Psalms of the Brethren, p. 63.

DEAN SWIFT AS A POET

“ Sir, you will never be a poet.” So Dryden is reported to have told Swift, and Swift’s verse must not be taken too seriously. He did not take it very seriously himself.

“ Have you seen a rocket fly ?
 You would swear it pierced the sky :
 It but reached the middle air,
 Bursting into pieces there ;
 Thousands sparkles falling down
 Light on many a coxcomb’s crown.
 See what mirth the sport creates :
 Singes hair, but breakes no pates.
 Thus should I attempt to climb,
 Treat you in a style sublime,
 Such a rocket is my Muse :
 Should I lofty numbers choose,
 Ere I reached Parnassus’ top,
 I should burst and bursting drop.”

Or again:—

“ But, I beg, suspend a while
 That same paltry, burlesque style ;
 Drop for once your constant rule,
 Turning all to ridicule.”

Swift was perfectly aware of his own limitations :—

“ The Dean was famous in his time,
 And had a kind of knack at rhyme.
 His way of writing now is past ;
 The town has got a better taste.”

The tendencies of men to overreach themselves is well described in these lines :—

“ Brutes find out where their talents lie :
A bear will not attempt to fly ;
A founder'd horse will oft debate,
Before he tries a five-barr'd gate ;
A dog by instinct turns aside,
Who sees the ditch too deep and wide.
But man we find the only creature
Who, led by Folly, combats Nature ;
Who, when she loudly cries, Forbear,
With obstinacy fixes there ,
And, where his genius least inclines,
Absurdly bends his whole designs.”

At verse Swift was extraordinarily facile, and much of his most scathing satire is to be found in his poems. These, however, have been unduly neglected. They are said to be too coarse and repulsive for our day, and the worse the critic, the more coarse the verse will appear to be in many places. Here is a fair example, showing Swift's mock-heroic verse rather than his coarseness :—

“ The secret thou shalt ne'er impart,
Not to the nymph that keeps thy heart ;
(How would her virgin soul bemoan
A crime to all her sex unknown !)
Nor whisper to the tattling reeds
The blackest of all female deeds ;
Nor blab it on the lonely rocks,
Where Echo sits, and listening mocks :
Nor let the Zephyr's treacherous gale
Through Cambridge wait the direful tale ;
Nor to the chattering feather'd race
Discover Celia's foul disgrace.
But, if you fail, my spectre dread,

Attending nightly round your bed—
 And yet I dare confide in you ;
 So take my secret and adieu :
 Nor wonder how I lost my wits :
 Oh ! Celia, Celia, Celia sh.....”.

The last line reminds us of Goldsmith's remark : “ Sir, a well placed dash makes half the wit of our writers of modern humour.” Swift is full of dots and dashes.

Of course, woman and her foibles is a very favourite topic with Swift. There is a tradition that he was a woman-hater. He is also reported to have been unusually chivalrous towards women. However that may be, in his verse Swift can be a trenchant critic of the ways of women :—

“ Say, foolish females, bold and blind,
 Say, by what fatal turn of mind,
 Are you on vices most severe,
 Wherein yourselves have greatest share ?
 Thus every fool herself deludes ;
 The prudes condemn the absent prudes :
 Mopsa, who stinks her spouse to death,
 Accuses Chloe's tainted breath ;
 Hircina, rank with swcat, presumes
 To censure Phyllis for perfumes ;
 While crooked Cynthia, sneering, says,
 That Florimel wears iron stays ;
 Chloe, of every coxcomb jealous,
 Admires how girls can talk with fellows
 And, full of indignation, frets
 That women should be such coquettes :
 Iris, for scandal most notorious,
 Cries, “ Lord, the world is so censorious ! ”
 And Rufa, with her combs of lead,
 Whispers that Sappho's hair is red :
 Aura, whose tongue you hear a mile hence,
 Talks half a day in praise of silence ;
 And Sylvia, full of inward guilt,
 Calls Amoret an arrant jilt.”

This quotation is an example of Swift's method of satire. It is quite general and presumably designed to improve the morals and manners of his time ; but as we read the verse, Swift leaves the impression that he had a great knack for verse and wrote because it amused him and because he believed he could write verse as well as any one else of his day :—

“ Yet malice never was his aim ;
He lash'd the vice, but spared the name ;
No individual could resent,
Where thousands equally were meant ;
His satire points at no defect,
But what all mortals may correct ;
For he abhorr'd that senseless tribe
Who call it humour when they gibe :
He spared a hump or crooked nose,
Whose owners set not up for beaux,
True genuine dulness moved his pity,
Unless it offer'd to be witty.
Those who their ignorance confess,
He ne'er offended with a jest ;
But laugh'd to hear an idiot quote
A verse from Horace learn'd by rote.”

What he preaches here, Swift did not always practise. In his later poems in particular he lashes individuals by name. Conscious even at an early age that his work possessed the qualities of permanence, he was originally chary of introducing names into his verse :—

“ For, should the vilest scribbler to the pit,
Whom sin and want e'er furnish'd out a wit ;
Whose name must not within my lines be shewn,
Lest here it live, when perish'd with his own.”

But this principle later on was often departed from and we find mentioned a number of dignitaries, usually political

or ecclesiastical, whose names would long ago have perished had it not been for Swift. An exception must be made in the case of Sir Robert Walpole, one of Swift's favourite butts under the designation of Sir Robert Brass. Swift, as a Tory, at a time when party passions ran high, could scarcely be expected to do justice to the great Whig and he wrote :—

“ I knew a brazen minister of state,
 Who bore for twice ten years the public hate.
 In every mouth the question most in vogue
 Was, when will they turn out this odious rogue ?
 A juncture happen'd in his highest pride ;
 While he went robbing on, his master died.”

One merit Swift in his humorous, contemptuous way does ascribe to Walpole. That student of human nature knew the value of the press to his government and made full use of the Whig writers of the day :—

“ A pamphlet in Sir Bob's defence
 Will never fail to bring in pence :
 Nor be concerned about the sale,
 He pays his workmen on the nail.”

For this reason English Literature at the commencement of the eighteenth century was warped. Men of letters were too much involved in politics and literature became the hand-maid of the politician. This accounts for some of the bitterness shown by authors to each other and distorted their judgment. Swift writes :—

“ Thus Steele, who own'd what others writ,
 And flourished by imputed wit.”

The rival parties repaired to their respective coffee-houses and proceeded to tear to shreds the work and reputation of their adversaries :—

“ And here a simile comes pat in ;
 Though chickens take a month to fatten,
 The guests in less than half an hour
 Will more than half a score devour.
 So, after toiling twenty days
 To earn a stock of pence and praise,
 Thy labours, grown the critic's prey,
 Are swallow'd o'er a dish of tea ;
 Gone to be never heard of more,
 Gone where the chickens went before.”

A good deal might be written, on Swift's similes. They form no inconsiderable part of his wit and skill. Incidentally they often go to sustain the charge of coarseness against him. Here is an example :—

“ So, naturalists observe, a flea
 Has smaller fleas that on him prey ;
 And these have smaller still to bite 'em,
 And so proceed ad infinitum.
 Thus every poet, in his kind,
 Is bit by him that comes behind.”

Characteristic of his verse is Swift's mock-heroic description, verging on the ludicrous and always interesting. As parody it is delightful :—

“ Now hardly here and there a hackney-coach
 Appearing, shew'd the ruddy morn's approach.
 Now Betty from her master's bed had flown,
 And softly stole to discompose her own ;
 The slip-shod 'prentice from his master's door
 Had pared the dirt, and sprinkled round the door.

Now Moll had whirl'd her mop with dext'rous airs,
 Prepared to scrub the entry and the stairs.
 The youth with broomy stumps began to trace
 The kennel's edge, where wheels had worn the place.
 The small-coal man was heard with cadence deep,
 Till drown'd in shriller notes of chimney-sweep :
 Duns at his lordship's gate began to meet ;
 And brickdust Moll had scream'd through half the street.
 The turnkey now his flock returning sees,
 Duly let out a-nights to steal for fees :
 The watchful bailiffs take their silent stands,
 And schoolboys lag with satchels in their hands."

Or take the closing lines of the "Description of a City Shower":—

"Now from all parts the swelling kennels flow,
 And bear their trophies with them as they go ;
 Filth of all hues and odour, seem to tell
 What street they sail'd from, by their sight and smell.
 They, as each torrent drives with rapid force,
 From Smithfield to St. Pulchre's shape their course,
 And in huge confluence joined at Snowhill ridge,
 Fall from the conduit prone to Holborn bridge.
 Sweeping from butchers' stalls, dung, guts, and blood
 Drown'd puppies, stinking sprats, all drench'd in mud,
 Dead cats, and turnip-tops, come tumbling down the flood."

Politicians, poets, priests, and women all at different times come under the lash of the satirist. Lawyers were also one of his pet abominations and he has referred to them in lines not unlike a parody of some of the poetry of Longfellow:—

"Now the active young attorneys
 Briskly travel on their journeys,
 Looking big as any giants,
 On the horses of their clients :

* * * *
 Brazen-hilted, lately burnish'd,
 And with harness-buckles furnish'd.

* * * *
 And with bridles fine and gay,
 Bridles borrow'd for a day,
 Bridles destined far to roam,
 Ah! never, never to come home.

* * * *
 And with ruffles to be shewn,
 Cambrie ruffles not their own;
 And with Holland shirts so white,
 Shirts becoming to the sight,
 Shirts bewrought with different letters,
 As belonging to their betters.

* * * *
 And with rings so very trim;
 Lately taken out of lim——."

And again he writes :—

" I own the causes of mankind
 Sit light upon a lawyer's mind :
 The clamours of ten thousand tongues .
 Break not his rest, nor burst his lungs ;
 I own, his conscience always free,
 (Provided he has got his fee,)
 Secure of constant peace within,
 He knows no guilt, who knows no sin."

Here then we have in the verse of Swift an instrument of terror and torture to his victims. Hatred is the key-note from beginning to end and to anyone unacquainted with these effusions their vitriolic bitterness is almost incredible. Irony there is of a cutting kind. Swift regarded this as his peculiar discovery :—

" Arbuthnot is no more my friend,
 Who dares to irony pretend,

Which I was born to introduce,
Refined it first, and shew'd its use."

Of malice, despite the bitter tone, there is no trace. His recipe for that he expresses in a single couplet :—

"The most effectual way to balk
Their malice is—to let them talk."

What moved him to write was sham and pretence and injustice or tyranny wherever found. Then he poured forth the vials of his wrath in no uncertain manner, taking as the motto of his verse this couplet :—

"Hated by fools, and fools to hate,
Be that my motto, and my fate" ;

or even two lines written in an early poem long before he had become famous or secured a hearing :—

"My hate, whose lash just Heaven has long decreed
Shall on a day make sin and folly bleed."

J. H. MAXWELL

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

(A Reply)

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's article on the Calcutta University published in the April number of the *Modern Review* contains a number of incorrect and exaggerated statements which are likely to create a wrong impression on the public mind and which, therefore, must be immediately contradicted in the interest of truth and fairness. I have no intention to dwell at length on the financial issues raised there. But one thing may be mentioned. Professor Sarkar takes it upon himself to inform us that the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford were going to get additional financial assistance from the British Treasury only on the unpleasant condition of increased Government control over their administration. But this misgiving, I may point out, has been completely laid at rest by the Report of the Royal Commission. That Report, while urging the necessity of additional financial assistance, does not at all insist on additional control. But why go so far as Cambridge and Oxford? Nearer home we have instances which do not support the doctrine that state assistance to a University must always be conditional on state control and interference. All the new and reformed Universities of India are almost entirely financed by the state, but the control exercised by it over their internal management is quite nominal and slight. This view will be entirely confirmed if we recall the attitude taken and opinions expressed by the Honourable Mr. Chintamani and some other responsible officials during the recent budget debates in the U. P. Council when attempts were made by some members of that council to interfere in the internal administration and management of the University of Lucknow. The officials

concerned made it quite plain in their speeches that the University was endowed with the fullest possible autonomy and that, therefore, it would not be right for the Government or the Council to seek to interfere in its internal affairs, financial or otherwise. Besides, the Calcutta University has been exercising this valuable right of self-government for nearly a couple of decades now. And at last Professor Sarkar comes forward to tell us that this privilege must no longer be allowed to exist. I shall only content myself with the remark that the advocacy of such a course, specially at a time when we, in India, are persisting in our demands for the extension of the principle of self-government, can only be characterised as reactionary in the extreme.

Let me now turn to the academic portions of the learned Professor's article. I must concede at once that it is very much to be desired that the Calcutta University took sufficient care to keep strictly within the limits of its financial resources. All the same, it is very difficult to accept the opinion expressed by our ardent reformer that the multiplication of teachers in that University is altogether needless and extravagant. I shall only take up one instance which he has himself cited, *viz.*, that of a department where a single paper has been divided between two lecturers. According to Prof. Sarkar, such a division of work is diametrically opposed to the principles laid down by Sir Michael Sadler. But with all due deference to the authority of our distinguished Professor, I feel constrained to say that such an interpretation of the Sadler Commission's principles is fundamentally wrong. For, as the same Commission observes, the University teacher is not a mere teacher, but must also be a researcher, an eager enquirer after truth, who must seek to get at his knowledge first-hand. Accordingly, the Commission holds that the University teacher must be provided with a reasonable amount of leisure, and not handicapped by too much teaching work. Hence it would be very difficult to justify the remark that the University

teachers have not had sufficient teaching work to do. Apart, however, from considerations of research, even from the narrow standpoint of efficient teaching, I can assert without any fear of contradiction that the instruction provided by the much abused University teachers is of a distinctly better type than what was available under the old system even in the Premier College of Bengal, where I had the privilege of studying for a number of years. And this is quite natural. For, in these days of rapid and many-sided extensions of knowledge, it is simply impossible for one single man to acquire a sound, comprehensive and up-to-date knowledge of a subject, or even a broad division of a subject. Such sound and thorough knowledge can be acquired only if everyone confines himself to a comparatively narrow and limited field.

My point will be sufficiently clear from a comparison of some of the results of the old system with those of the new. There are many first Class M.A.'s and P.R.S.'s produced under the good old system who have been long associated with the profession of teaching. And yet we would look in vain for even a dozen scholars of the old type who have made any substantial contribution to our stock of knowledge. On the other hand, inspite of "the rapid multiplication of 1st Class M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s created by an examination not of the right standard," the Calcutta University has sent out a steady succession of young and brilliant scholars who can hold their own in any seat of learning in the world.

I would next examine the rather hasty judgment which Professor Sarkar passes upon the examinations of the Calcutta University. He does not in the least add to his great reputation for patient and scholarly research by trying to mislead the public by giving a wrong and partial analysis of the methods and procedure followed or by drawing equally wrong conclusions from it. I would only mention a few relevant points which our learned Professor finds it quite necessary for his purpose to omit. In the first place, so far as my information

goes, the system of "sham examinations" where the teachers exercise a predominating influence is not a monopoly of the Calcutta University; but is also prevalent on a much larger scale in most of the Western Universities. Hence, even if that system is really defective, the Calcutta University has only borrowed that defect from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford about which we hear so much from the pen of Professor Sarkar. In the second place, there is a standing rule almost invariably observed by the Calcutta University of associating an external examiner of outstanding position along with an internal examiner for every paper that is offered for the M.A. examination. A well-informed critic of the Calcutta University like Prof. Jadunath Sarkar must surely be aware of that rule and still he finds it rather convenient to omit the slightest reference to it. And yet again, Professor Sarkar tries to prove from the single fact of a large number of passes and first classes that the degrees of the Calcutta University do not deserve to be given much credit. But I would like to remind Prof. Sarkar that while in his days, scarcely a dozen candidates offered themselves for the M.A. examination in any particular subject, the corresponding number in these days was to be counted by the hundred. Hence, it is no great wonder that the number of first classes in recent years should of necessity have been much greater than in the good old days which Professor Sarkar appears very fond of recalling many a time for us.

But our veteran scholar and unsparing critic surpasses even himself when he comes to tell us of his own valuation of the P.R.S.'s and Ph.D.'s of the Calcutta University. I need only mention a few specific cases. Here is a list of the Calcutta P. R. S.'s from 1910 (new régime) onwards and of a few Ph.D.'s and D.Sc.'s selected at random:—

P. R. S.

1910—Bagchi, Haridas

1911—Ray, Manmathanath

„ —Sarkar, Anukulechandra

„ Sengupta, Hemendrakumar

1911—Majumdar, Surendranath	1915—Mukherjee, Radhakamal
1912—Majumdar, Rameshchandra	„ Law, Narendranath
1913—De, Bimanbehari	„ Banerjee, Sudhansukumar
„ Mukherjee, Girindralal	1916—Dutt, Rasiklal
„ Banerjee, Gauranganath	„ Ghosh, Brajendranath
1914—Mukherjee, Bhujangabhusan	„ Chatterjee, Sunitikumar
„ Ganguli, Surendramohan	

Later Years :—

Mukherjee, Jnanendranath

Dey, Susilkumar

Ph.D (*new régime*).D.Sc. (*new régime*)

Mukherjee, Radhakumud
 Majumdar, Rameshchandra
 Mukherjee, Radhakamal
 Ghosh, Jnanchandra

Ghosh, Jnanchandra
 Saha, Meghnad
 Banerjee, Sudhansukumar
 Dhar, Nilratan
 Dutt, Rasiklal

The number of P. R. S.'s in the list is 20. Most of these scholars are comparatively young still, there are at least a dozen names that are honourably mentioned for genuine first-class scholarship even beyond the boundaries of the particular academic exchange where Professor Sarkar appears to be one of the very few monopolistic or semi-monopolistic dealers. Again, each of the eight scholars included in the Doctors' list has established a reputation which has spread itself far beyond the boundaries of Professor Sarkar's academic exchange and in some cases has even penetrated into continental Europe. Besides, Professor Sarkar can easily find out for himself that many of the P. R. S.'s and all the Doctors except one, *viz.*, Dr. Meghnad Saha, are at present occupying very responsible academic positions outside the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University. These scholars have won the laurels in the free and fair contest of universal scholarship. Are we still to be told that "the inflated First Class M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s of Calcutta have sunk to the same value (or level?) in the academic exchange of India as the inflated kronen of the

Austrian currency has done in the monetary exchange of the world"? That is very likely to be true in an exchange where Professor Jadunath Sarkar happens to be a sort of more or less a monopolist dealer. But in the wider exchange of universal scholarship where there is really fair and open competition, the academic products with the Calcutta trademark have already come to be highly appreciated as thoroughly genuine in character.

HIRENDRALAL DEY

VENGEANCE IS MINE

SECOND BOOK

CHAPTER I

At the same time as Raghubhai was sleeping off the fatigue after Ramkisanadasji's ready justice, Hakumatraiji was smoking the *hookah* in Surat and was unconsciously stroking his white moustache. He was blowing rings and clouds of fragrant smoke around him with all the enjoyment of an expert connoisseur. A superficial observer might have taken the old Raiji for a deep thinker. But those who knew him were quite sure that his brain capacity was not equal to any depth of thought, nor had he troubled himself often about the processes of pure reason. Some minutes later he put aside the *hookah* and opening his small wallet began to prepare *pan* and tobacco for chewing.

"Well, what are you about, now?" cried Mistress Maghtkor entering the room, "I told you often enough,—my jaw even aches with the telling—but you were always for 'poor Nilkanth' and 'dear Nilkanth.' And now you reap the consequences. You have invited trouble yourself, so don't blame me. Grin and bear this extra burden. As if you had not enough burden of your own."

Old Raiji quickly shook his huge head, he had known and had endured his wife's temper and tongue for years. He put a wad of *pan* into his mouth and asked, "Has Bachu gone to fetch them?"

"Oh yes, certainly! Provide for all poor relations you can hunt out of a dungheap. A wife has yet to be found for Bachu and poor Kiki hardly knows if she would ever be married and here are your new relations!"

"My dear, I am a bit tired of your sharp tongue. Why do you assume that Gunavanti shall prove a burden?"

"Oh dear, no! No burden at all! Of course she will be a blessing in the house! I can see all that!"

Old Raiji smiled faintly.

"But here is a carriage. Here they are at last."

The carriage stopped at the door, Bachu jumped out and shouted for the servant. "Welcome, dear aunt," he cried going up to her. With heavy heart and eyes blinded with tears Gunavanti had come back after many years to the ancestral home of her husband. But the Lord of her love and her home, with whom she had set out on life's pilgrimage,—him she had left behind and had come back alone to be dependent upon her husband's old brother in the dark days of her widowhood. With streaming eyes and bent head she glided into the house.

The old Raiji got up. He had scarce the courage to welcome the widow of his younger brother. His old heart, hardened by experience, was wrung at the remembrance of the premature decease of his favourite younger brother. A few big tears flowed down his wrinkled cheeks. A smile of welcome was on his face but the corners of his mouth were turned down by the force of his grief, which he was trying hard to control.

Jagat entered immediately after his mother. Old Raiji called the boy to his side. The voice of the old man was shaking with unshed tears.

"Well, my boy? Do you remember me, Jagat?"

Jagat's recollection of the old uncle was rather vague.

But he had heard about this uncle from Nilkanthrai and Gunavanti, and had grown to hold him in such awe that he was quite terrified at being addressed in this way by the old man; he stood half shy, half in fear.

Old Raiji drew him by the hand towards himself and patted the boy's head.

"May you live long, my child, and may you add lustre to the name you inherit. Now go inside and have a wash and change."

The old man wiped his eyes and sought consolation in his *hookah*.

Jagat went in. Auntie Mahakor was bustling about loudly in the kitchen.

"So this is your boy! Good."

For a long while the mother and son sat there in silence. What could the new arrivals say? They remained sitting where they were. Nobody showed them their room, none bade them welcome. Poor Gunavanti's heart was breaking; she felt she was not at all welcome to Mahakor. But where else could she have gone. There was no other relation of hers on earth.

Bachu¹—Gunavantrai—came in.

"But, aunt, how long will you sit here like this, come upstairs with me. Come along, friend Jagat, do look alive, you look quite done up," with these cheering words he led Jagat upstairs. Bachu was about sixteen years old and a spoilt child, but he was frank and open-hearted albeit a little lacking in wisdom. He never could agree with his mother, and he had a wholesome dread of the father. But old Raiji was so easy-going that there were not many occasions when this dread was actually experienced by his son.

They went upstairs and Bachu bustled about arranging their boxes; and he fixed up a few pegs for their clothes.

"Auntie, let me give you some good advice. Don't you speak too much to mother. If you want anything, ask me. Mother only gets wild."

Gunavanti did not reply, but acknowledged Bachu's goodness with a smile of gratitude.

"Bachu, I will now put Jagat under your care. You see he must be feeling very strange and awkward here."

¹ "Bachu" was the pet name used at home.

"Oh, don't you worry! He will get along very well in a couple of days. You shall see the change yourself. Come along, youngster." Bachu had learnt from his schoolmates to assume a lordly air of patronage, and he delighted to show it off at every opportunity.

"Bachu! In what form are you at present?"

"What form! I have been kept back in the sixth."

"English?"

"Ha, ha, ha," laughed Bachu, "who the devil can get up so high! It's lucky I managed so far."

"But why? My Jagat reads in a higher form than you."

"But how could I help it! Dash it—I cannot pass the examinations," Bachu defended himself in an injured tone.

"Perhaps you do not read enough."

"No, auntie, I do read. But," added he in a low whisper, "I am always unlucky. Father does not speak up to the teacher. And in every examination my seat is exactly in front of the teacher's table, so the others can pass by unfair means, whilst I dare not even whisper to my neighbour."

Gunavanti could hardly suppress a smile even in her grief. But the conversation was interrupted by a loud summons from the kitchen below.

"Bachu, Bachu, what are you all doing up there? Can't you come down? Dinner will be getting cold."

* * * * *

At about four that afternoon Bachu and Jagat were talking and Gunavanti was downstairs with Mahakor. A whistle sounded from below the back window. Bachu got up immediately and answered the whistle.

"Come up, Raman. My cousin has come."

A youth pattered up the stairs. His well-greased curls were dangling over his forehead from underneath a cap worn at an angle of forty-five degrees. Impudence was plainly visible in his looks. He was wearing a threadbare vest and coat, which had once been fashionable, and a fine muslin *dhoti*

worn stylishly according to the latest mode. On his feet were an old pair of "pumps" which had long lost all their shine. The wearer was barely sixteen and such swank, such fashion and such traits as were evident on his very face indicated a character such as no experienced teacher would like to see in a youth of that age. Jagat was quite staggered.

"Who this chappie?" asked he in fluent "English," pointing at Jagat.

"But, Raman, he reads in the third form."

"Who? This bloke?"—a look of supreme contempt accompanied this.

Jagat at first did not know what to say. He quietly inquired: "What are you studying?"

"Ha-ha! Your humble servant is in the first. Education spells stagnation now-a-days," asserted Ramanlal in self-defence.

Jagat found such manners, such language and finally the cigarette, which Raman took out, very strange and so utterly against all he had learnt from Gunavanti that he merely sat still and listened. After a while Bachu and Raman went out for a stroll.

Ramanlal was the heir-apparent of a millionaire and was quite up-to-date in all matters befitting a man about town.

* * * * *

Time passed thus. Gunavanti little by little won over even her sister-in-law. Before two months had passed she had assumed all the burden of managing the house. Old Raiji saw cleanliness, order and a certain quiet dignity appearing in the house and saw in it the silent influence of Gunavanti. The children loved her even more than their own mother. Jagat also got more and more at home. Dull-headed Bachu got very proud of his "little brother's" cleverness and in admiring his learning he tended to neglect his own. But he was constantly striving to serve Jagat with the fidelity of a dog. Raman had also condescended to come down from his

“fashionable heights” and to glance at Jagat. But more often he looked down with superior scorn upon Jagat and called him “a little girl” to express his opinion about his lack of taste and fashion.

Jagat grew and flourished both in body and in mind. The well-mannered, clever, hard-working and idealistic Jagat won praises from every one. But he went his own way without being spoilt by them. Sometimes he sank in melancholy; Tanman’s face rose up before his mind and he felt that his life lacked some thing. At such times he retired into a corner and shed tears, he knew not why. And then he would resume his studies in the hope of working hard to make his life of some worth and winning Tanman at last. Gunavanti’s maternal heart rejoiced to see her son.

But there was one subject which neither mother nor son could freely discuss with the other. Gunavanti had warned him never to mention to anyone why they had suddenly to leave Raghubhai’s shelter. As Jagat grew older, he began to have some faint inkling of the truth, but whenever he asked her about it, Gunavanti became evasive. He was sore perplexed over the matter and began to look upon Raghubhai as his mortal enemy.

Two or three years later the Angel of Death descended upon Raiji’s house. The first to go was the sickly sister of Bachu. Then came the turn of auntie Mahakor, frightened and terrified on the brink of the unknown; and she went without any one wishing her to have remained a little longer. Two years later old Raiji also went to Heaven, loved and honoured to the last, as he had always been throughout his long life. All restraints being removed Mr. Bachu bade adieu to the worship of Sarasvati after reaching the giddy heights of the third English form. He always maintained with just pride that it was not at all necessary to have two brothers educated in one family. He made the noble resolve to offer his whole life to the grand task of looking after his patch,

of ancestral land. Old Raiji had kept a carriage but his son sold it off, but with the creditable object not to bring his city¹ to shame, he kept an *ekka*²—about the size of a big basin—and a bullock—the size of a big goat. In this magnificent chariot he used to drive out through the “bazar” in the Fort, adorned with a couple of small shops, or otherwise he went out to take air in the dreary treeless waste known as the “Queen’s Gardens” or at the farthest he reached the limit of the empty bungalows of the civil lines, and in these enjoyments, he thought, consisted the highest that life could offer. Such is indeed the viewpoint of the average citizen of Surat.

Parisians hold that there is nothing to be seen outside Paris. Surat is the beautiful Paris of Gujarat and Mr. Bachu was a typical Surati: hence no wonder that he too thought likewise.

CHAPTER II

ANOTHER INTERVAL

Days flew fast in this manner. Six years had past since Jagat had come to stay with his uncle. The little Jagat of those days was now an undergraduate in a College at Bombay. The holidays had begun and Jagat was to come home to Surat. Bachu was at the railway station to receive him.

“Well, brother, how are you?”

“Quite well. And is mother quite well?”

“Yes; quite.”

Collecting the luggage both went along and stopped at the door of a second class.

¹ Surat.

² A small wooden box upon two wheels.

“Hallo, Jagat, dear ?” exclaimed Ramanlal, shaking his hand in the most approved style. “Bachu, my darling, how are you”; the “darling” showed that he had friends among the Bombay “smart set.” “Hale and hearty, eh !”

Mr. Ramanlal was doing some business in Bombay. What that business was no one knew. But people believed that he dealt only with millions, and his airs also supported that belief.

“I am going to Dumas.¹ The old governor is there and I am going there for a month’s rest.”

“Very well, but how long do you stay here ?”

“A couple of days at most. Your town is a jolly little hole. It is too slow for me. But Jagat and Bachu, old chaps ! You too come along, both of you. The old ‘un will indeed be glad. He is specially gone on you, Jagat.”

“But I won’t come. I come home after these months and do not want to be out wandering again.”

“You are indeed a deuced stay-at-home little chicken. But come along, my carriage is here and I will reach you home.”

They reached home in a few minutes.

“Auntie, here is your little chickie. But I will whisk him off this time to Dumas,” Raman said to Gunavanti, “the old ‘un would be feeling a bit lonely and he will be just the companion for that ancient fellow.”

Ramanlal used to forget in the pressure of his business that the old gentleman was his father and deserved somewhat more respectful epithets.

“Very well, I will consider your proposal. You will be back in the afternoon.”

The mother and son embraced each other and talked long and lovingly. In the afternoon Ramanlal presented himself. He scarce left off any whim without getting all he could out of it.

¹ A small seaside village and health-resort about six miles from Surat.

"No, auntie ; you must send him along. Bachu has his rents to collect, but what is Jagat going to do at home ? Our people have always been lifeless and wanting in energy."

"But I do not prevent him. He might certainly go for a fortnight. Yes, Jagat, do go. You will get a good change."

Raman had succeeded at last, Jagat did agree to go to Dumas. The night before the departure mother and son sat together in conversation.

"Mummy dear, may I ask you something before I go away ? You won't be angry ? "

"What is it ? " asked Gunavanti with a smile.

"Your health seems to be worse than ever of late. Why are you so careless about that ? "

"Not at all my child, it is only your fancy."

"No, it's no fancy of mine ? You are as pale as a sheet. And just look at your face, you look quite old."

"But what of that ? It is my time now. You are now grown up. If I could only welcome home your wife I would die happy."

"You should not talk of death just yet. You have got to live for years yet," Jagat replied hurriedly.

Gunavanti was daily getting more and more anxious to get a wife for her son. But whenever she talked about this Jagat felt in his heart as if it were being rent in twain. He felt utterly lost and in his ears the old words re-echoed, "Mummy, you and I."

(To be continued)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

MITES FROM MANY

I

(*Beauty and Love.*)

(1)

Folly the world in beauty paints,
 But God is hidden away :
 In existence' every speck
 His beauty's above sight and say. (*Śilhana.*)

(2)

What can truly beauty test ? .
 The power to please the loved one best. (*Kālidasa.*)

(3)

For thy beauty, O World-Mother,
 All great poets,
 Brahmā ¹ and the-rest,
 Labour, thro' unending time,
 In search of simile
 To suit Thee best. (*Śaṅkarāchārya.*)

(4)

When love's between,
 Comes joy unseen,
 Love knows nor near nor far,
 In silent darkness shines a star. (After *Bhāvabhūti.*)

¹ The Archangel of creation.

(5)

Friend to friend a treasure is,
Doing naught, a soother is. (*Bhavabhūti.*)

(6)*

Roar thou cloud, pour down rain,
Let flames of thunder burn ;
He reck's not fair or foul,
Let him his face but love-ward turn.—(Anonymous
—*Sanskrit.*)

(7)

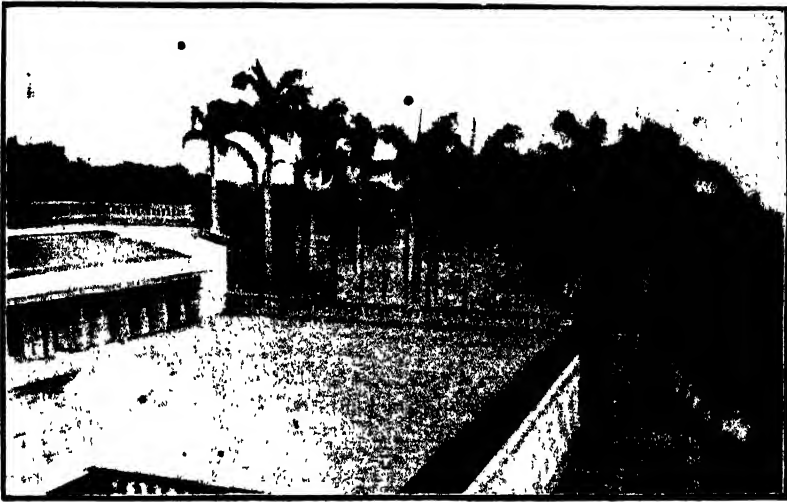
Should Fate condemn this faithful heart
To choose my love or choose her absent self ;
Her absent self I'll hold more dear ;
Present, she's the world to me ;
Absent, by her, the world is filled.—(Anonymous—
Sanskrit.)

MŌHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

“VERY YOUNG”

For sometime past a friend has been urging me to “write something for the *Calcutta Review*. I have told my friend, “I have nothing to write about.” My friend’s wife suggests “something humorous.” But who can have any sense of humour with the thermometer at 93° in our enclosed north verandah? From the thermometer my eye wanders to the glories of the scarlet-orange blaze of the gold-mohur trees lining the road outside, our Via Regia—and I think, “well, there is something to live for, even if it *is* a perspiring life.” I remember also the drooping gold of some trees I saw yesterday in the pretty park on Ritchie Road. They looked just like the laburnum at home, but I am told they are *Cassia fistula*. Then one takes comfort from the large rain trees now in blossom, the mango trees; teak, and here and there, a mahogany tree. Above all, we in Baligunj can boast of palms. From our eyrie we look out on a sea of palms—sometimes stirred by gentle zephyrs, sometimes shaken roughly by ruder winds, which makes the old and dry leaves rustle and moan, as if asking to be allowed to die and drop off in peace. I love to watch the tall green spike rising from each palm tree; to see it gradually unfurl, day by day, in its delicate, shining green, till it waves free, another perfect leaf. Remembering our beautiful tree-friends, standing day and night around us; thinking of the hours spent on the terrace looking into the scented darkness of the night—night gleaming with diamond stars; thinking too of other nights, brilliantly moon-lit; from some psychological Without, or Within, come the words of an old Greek poet, “that is best which lieth nearest.” And I make up my vagrant mind to

write about the house I live in ! Or more correctly, the twin half of the house I live in. In these hurrying days the mind



Terrace of Biological Laboratories.

turns easily from anything to anything. So one turns easily, if reluctantly, from the glamour of memories of the moon-bathed terrace, to the magic of Science in the verandah of the Histological Laboratory. This verandah holds



Plant-Histological Laboratory.

all sorts of algological mysteries. At least, they are mysteries to *me* ; but, I suppose, open secrets to the presiding Genii of the place. Here may be seen the University Professor of Botany, with enthusiastic students, poring over horrid-looking green messes—and these they call “algae-cultures !” I go on hurriedly into the microscope and microtome rooms, and admire everything, as I am evidently



Lecture Room.,

expected to do. *En passant*, when told how pleased the Professor and Students are with their beautiful instruments, which enable them to do work of first quality, my mind turns to the “Super-man,” whose broad outlook and far view make it possible for these young men of Bengal to be trained in work so important to their mother-land. I go down next to the first floor, where are the Physiological and Zoological laboratories, and the Zoological Lecture Room. Down

again, to the ground floor, which has its lecture room in the centre, with the Herbarium to the south. On the east of the



Microtome Laboratory.

lecture room is the Bio-chemical laboratory, from whence at times issue abominable odours of H_2S . On the west is the Mycological laboratory—this last was the scene of Professor Bal's labours—shared in the Bio-chemical laboratory by the University Professor of Botany. We move on from the



One of the three Phyto-Chemical Laboratories.

ground floor lecture room, out to the narrow verandah, and under the pillared portico. Here I stop for a few words with "Boodhoo" *chaprassi* ! He tells me how very unhealthy the place used to be before the *Bara Sahib* had the jungle cleared. He says, *Sab jangal tha, huzoor, 'aur bahut sanp tha*. He also tells me a funny story of how servants could never leave their shoes about, because the *gidar-log* used to carry them off ! I discover later, that long before September 1917, the University Professor-elect of Botany, used to visit "Chamba," the old name for this building, constantly, and spend many hours in the planning and supervision of the repairs to the buildings ; and the arranging for the water supply, of all of which he was placed in charge. And this was during months of strenuous labour as Registrar, and was continued for the whole of "four months' leave," during the months of June to September, 1918.

In an old book we read, "Where there is no vision, the people perish."

Many years ago Charles Dickens wrote of "the divine faculty of imagination." Within the last ten to twelve years, the investigations of the New Nancy School of Medicine show the pedagogic as well as psycho-therapeutic value of the imagination. It is now considered a most important item in our mental equipment. Quite a few years ago H. G. Wells wrote : "foresight dies when the imagination slumbers." The context shows that "foresight" here means a larger vision.

Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, in his Whip and Scorpion article in the May number of the *Calcutta Review*, writing of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, says, "Who would dare condemn the *spirit* which has called the Post-graduate department into being, or has prompted its extension?" Further on, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh says of the Post-graduate Course : "It is still young, very young." Before reading Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's article, I had already begun one for the *Calcutta Review*,

which, as far as it is written, I shall leave unchanged. But I think it will come very *apropos* after Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's eloquent defence of the Post-graduate Course. I am sure this outpost of the University College of Science is not known as it ought to be. We have had some photographs taken of our interiors, and exteriors, which will give an idea of the work done. We are, as Mr. Khuda Bukhsh says, "very young." But how we have grown in the four years of our existence! When I arrived here in December of last year, I had a graphic history of our beginnings from Professor S. N. Bal. He had applied for the post of University Assistant Professor of Botany, and was told to "just go to *Chamba*, and see Dr. Brühl." He set out to find "*Chamba*," and after a long journey from town, and much expostulation with a reluctant *ghari-wallah*, he arrived at—"a jungle!" Professor Bal said he could not believe this jungle sheltered a European! But, being an enterprising young man, he entered through a dilapidated gate, interviewed a "gamari" Durwan, and was finally taken upstairs to Dr. Brühl.

This was the first meeting of the two men who were to work shoulder to shoulder for the next four years, and do all the spade work, literally *spade* work, for the Botanical Department of the University College of Science. First, the historic "jungle" had to be cleared—the grounds planned and laid out, the buildings put into repair and made habitable—the Laboratories planned and equipped. This work takes a few lines in telling, but it took four years in *doing* and there is still very much to do. If only funds were forthcoming! I am a hopelessly unscientific person, and it is not for me to write of the scientific value of the work done here, but I may mention that both Professor Bal and Dr. Brühl have always laid great stress on the desirability of associating advanced students with themselves in their research work. Thus, Professor Bal has written several valuable papers, of great *practical* importance, on Mycological subjects, partly in

conjunction with Research Students, and Dr. Brühl has had the valuable and ungrudging assistance of one of his Senior Students, Mr. Kalipada Biswas, in working on the algae of Bengal filterbeds—as well as the algal Flora of Bengal ponds, Jhils, rivers, and roads. Another senior student, Mr. Atulchandra



Plant-Physiological Laboratory

Datta, is collaborating with Dr. Brühl on a research into the distribution of potash in the tissues of the Water Pest. This is part of a research into the physiology of this scourge of Bengal water-ways! I understand that papers on these subjects are either in the press, or will be published shortly. Since Dr. Brühl and Professor Bal began work here, we have been reinforced by Dr. Agharkar, the Ghose Professor of Botany with special reference to agriculture—and quite recently, by Professor Ganguli, Professor of Agriculture. After the death of the Rev. Father Lafont, S.J., C.I.E., I have more than once heard Dr. Brühl described as the “Father of Science in Bengal.” If he is so, I am quite sure he has a number of lusty sons!

For all I have heard of the First Days at 35, Ballygunge Circular Road, I am mostly indebted to Professor Bal;

our V.C. is the most salient figure in Bengal, but I doubt if even his brilliant capacity could extort much speech from his University Professor of Botany unless aided by a corkscrew! The photograph of the exterior of the Biological Laboratory



Biological Laboratories—University College of Science.

shows very well what I call Professor Bal's *Kolla Bagan*—This was, Professor Bal tells me, begun and carried on by Dr. Brühl and himself for botanical purposes, much to the delight of the monkeys, who then infested the place, and made off with the first fruit. But now the monkeys seem to have trekked to fresh fields and pastures new. •

The jackals and civet-cats seem to enjoy the invasion of science and civilization, and are still with us. During these May holidays, Dr. Brühl, and his loyal and hardworking Assistant, Mr. Praphullakumar Bose, are engaged in laying out the grounds as a systematic Botanical Garden, representing

the various natural orders and their tribes. These two gentle-



Laboratory for Systematic Work.

men can often be seen manipulating a man-power plough and trying to teach its management to their small group of *malis*. The group is very small, for even in this apparently insignificant matter the lack of funds hampers progress. Yet, the University is criticised and censured for prodigal expenditure. It would be a very good thing if the Calcutta University friends and enemies alike would get some *personal* knowledge of the Post-Graduate Course, and what is being done in its various departments. Anyone can criticise ; but to understand, and to sympathise, and to appreciate, depend on *higher* functions of the mind, and imply the possession of a larger nature.

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ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM—A SOCIAL STUDY OF ITS INFLUENCE

In all spheres of thought and action, European and Asiatic, in law and politics, in Economics and Sociology, in metaphysical speculations and new psychology, in literature, arts and education, in biology, even in the art of statesmanship and in the rise of nations, there has sprung up a certain reaction against the process of over-abstraction which was the natural 'denouement' to the cult of a false sense of utility and a perverted notion of the function of intellect. As early as the separation of individual faculties into such water-tight compartment as Intellect, Emotions and Will, the door of human mind was opened to the idea that there was a hierarchy of faculties presided over by Reason and served by the emotions and 'feelings' of man. Systems of philosophy and psychology were invented to pay homage to Reason. In the sphere of the Social mind, which was as yet but dimly recognised, this separation was preserved, though in the act of transference, from one compartment to another, certain changes were effected under the influence of a factor which made itself felt in a region wider than individual psychology—*viz.*, Time. Considered historically, the social emotions supplied the moving force of civilisation in its early stages, as evidenced by war waves and faith-upheavals. Next in order of time was the predominance of social will, which drawing its sap from the collective emotions centred round history or traditional culture, took to organising the under-current forces of society. That was the era of social control and social co-ordination. Next came the age of Reason, the era of demotic composition when the collective mind deliberately began the task of teleological construction. In politics the State was deified, reformative

legislation was introduced, economic Utopias were dreamt, the schoolmaster was sent abroad, Prose tyrannised over Poetry, and commentaries appeared to shroud works of direct inspiration. There arose gradually a mysticism of abstraction and an excessive attention to parts which rendered clear sight of the whole an impossibility. The unconscious and the sub-conscious elements were ignored—the human factor was eschewed from all affairs and men resembled those Martian deities pictured by H. G. Wells. The philosopher went to his cell and the scientist to his laboratory. And the whole earth was left contemptuously to be grazed upon by the “herds and masses” who were supposed to be the worshippers of such cruder deities as Feelings and Emotions. Religion which binds the whole man, was considered by the State to be a convenient superstition to be utilised in accordance with higher political needs. Thus under the imperial sway of a false intellectualism, man could not take advantage of his institutional environments to realize his purpose and destiny on earth. Such had been the process of human history up till the last century. Logic would invert it by saying that the above survey is arbitrary. But Logic would take no account of the sequence of events which has so long paid scant courtesy to it.

The nineteenth century witnessed the imperialism of Reason in its practical aspects and that, in an excessive degree. Thus arose the anti-intellectualist reaction.¹ Let us consider a few of its phases.

The state as bolstered up by the over-logical Austinian school of Jurisprudence is discredited. Prof. Barker has shown how, in the first place, the opposition is made by the

¹ Every thought has a double origin. First, it is a reaction against an older thought that has become stereotyped and does not work in harmony with new environments and embrace a new series of facts. Secondly, it is the last step in a process of evolution, having its nucleus imbedded in the past, but so long prevented from growing vigorously by the greater vigour of other forms of thought. Anti-intellectualism has also the Newtonian and Darwinian origins. In this essay we are more concerned with the first than with the second.

anarchists and extreme individualists who base their resistance upon a supposed theory of individual natural rights as existing prior to the formation of the State. A second batch of detractors is formed by those who believe in groups. The group made its debut chaperoned by the guilds and the Church in the Middle Ages and it has stayed on till then because it took into account the human element which the concept of the Unitary State, either in the shape of an Empire or of a nationalistic State, was daily losing. Whatever differences there might be between the mediæval and modern economic groups, it can be safely asserted that the modern political group is not an atavistic revival of political theory. It has the same *raison d'être*. In the vastness of the State man loses the touch of intimacy. Contiguity of association can, as it is thought, develop all the faculties of man much more efficiently than Government from a distance and through "non-human" agencies. Theoretically it is a recognition of the principle of variation. From the constitutional point of view the group-theory represents the idea of devolution in local affairs. From the *legal* point of view, permanent groups have a 'real' personality possessing will and character growing from within and not created by the fiat of any external agency; and having a juristic personality capable of contracting obligations, of suing and being sued in return. According to this theory as groups exist prior to any legal act of incorporation the abstract notion of state recedes into the background as being not of any primary importance. Its function now becomes confined to acts of general superintendence and harmonising the fundamental groups. From before the Great War the group-theory has been in the ascendant and nibbling at the foundations of nationalistic states. Thus the "various novelties of political experiments" as advanced by the different sections of the socialistic school, the Distributists, the Fabians, the Syndicalists, the regional sociologists are all derivatives of the group-idea just like those schools which uphold the group

rights of the Church, the Universities and such other corporate entities. The group theorists are arrayed in serried ranks against the authoritativeness of the state. Thanks to their determined opposition, the present function of the state is limited to the task of preserving an equipoise, a balance between different groups and activities.

A third breach is effected by the Federalists. Federation which has been aptly described as the alpha and omega of modern political philosophy is a derivative of the group-idea. The State has been supposed to be "the community of communities, which embraces economical, ecclesiastical and national groups." The British Empire on the whole and in the parts is more or less Federal. The salvation of India has also been rightly supposed to lie in that direction. The League of Nations seeks to advertise its supreme importance on the strength of its federal basis. And we hear of World-Federation though as yet like a cry in the wilderness.

The last opposition to the intellectualism of an Austrian or a Hegelian State is furnished by the internationalists who try to prove that war is unprofitable on account of the fact that the vast system of credit reared up by banks, railways and telegraphs falls to the ground like the walls of Jericho at the slightest breath of the war-trumpet. Sometimes their arguments rest upon grounds other than the vaults of banks. They lay stress upon the long forgotten aspect of Darwinism, *viz.*, co-operation.¹ They also lay functional psychology under contribution and recognise the modifiability of human nature under the stress of new environments--here, the vantages of the credit-system chiefly. They deny the state-personality and call it purely an administrative mechanism which has no respect for heterogeneity of race and creed. In their opinion

¹ Darwin, like all other great men, has been misinterpreted. In the *Descent of Man* he writes "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish best and rear the greatest number of offspring." He was too great a thinker to ignore the part of co-operation in building up the higher faculties which secure to the species the best conditions for survival.

the real entity is that of a psychic corporation having a definite view of life for its own. Conflict is inevitable in such a case with another psychic corporation having a different view of life. But it will banish the conflict of States, *i.e.*, War.

The Socialists hold a peculiar position with regard to the movement which we are tracing. On the one hand, it has been apprehended, the particular kind of socialism that is likely to be the reigning "Sociocracy" of the future, purposes to bring about a stationary state which by reducing the individuals to a drab monotony of existence will interfere with the infinite variety of life which is the keystone to all progress. There is yet another danger, A socialist state in the fullest sense will be afraid of being undersold by other states acting under more vital principles such as Free Trade and hence will tend to be "severely national, possibly protectionist and almost certainly militarist." If the group, which justifies its existence on the two-fold bases of a closeness of human touch as opposed to a mere intellectual abstraction and of its associativeness or federativeness with other groups in the line of common instincts, emotions and purposes, becomes an agency for producing machines and is crystallised into a militaristic nationality deliberately starving the tendrils of friendship with other groups, then it will have to be confessed that the revolt against the autocracy of Intellect—its policy of Divide and Rule, has failed to preach home its far-reaching lessons. Of course, to an optimist, the Life-principle appears to work wonders and to young men, it seems to guide the destiny of Socialism. Nevertheless the above tendencies of Socialism must be noted carefully. On the other hand, however, Socialism by calling class struggle an unavoidable step in the process of inaugurating an ideal state, has a decided predilection to be international in its scope. As conditions of labour and methods of economic exploitation are, more or less the same all over the world the Trade Unions gravitate towards the central interests of Labour. Of course, during the last War, we were

treated to the curious spectacle of national Labour Parties supporting national capital against Foreign Labour and Capital—a position rendered inevitable by the nationalistic bend of even semi-socialistic States. But it seems that the pendulum has swung back. The Washington Labour Conference last year was international in its scope.

All these facts are to be weighed against the abstract notion of State. There is one main idea running athwart these political theories—a revolt against the false intellectualism presiding over all theories of State. Now we will look into some facts which are the embodiments of anti-intellectualist theories. A tide of dissatisfaction against the rigidity and aridity of an over-annuated abstraction is sweeping over the whole world. In some cases the flood has deposited rich soil upon the inundated area where the seeds are growing—in some other, the tide is on.

The Celtic movement is decidedly anti-intellectualist both in theory and practice. In theory the sense of its oneness and uniqueness hovers over its literature and art. Attempts are being made, in the face of the lessons of anthropological sociology, to prove that the Celtic is a homogeneous culture with a peculiar set of traditions of its own. Its cult of the emotions directly in touch with nature, its acute sense of the Living Presence and its delicacy are all reflected in the new literature. Its mystic sense flouts all notions of rationalism, its great heart discards false notions of utility and its brain is in the right place—*viz.* the heart. The poetry of A. E. Russell and Yeats, the painting of the new school, the dramas of Synge and Shaw all sing the fundamental note of intuition. The springs of human action are laid open and they discover a pure stream of sympathy and affection, unaffected by any frothy 'gray matter.' There is less of technique in these artistic endeavours than anywhere else and there is more of that silence which is undisturbed by logomachy but teems with the murmur of a soul-intercourse. Logic—that

is false logic, is a forbidden stranger to this silent communion of spirits to which knowledge is intuition. Even so with the methods of the Celtic Revival. One should say that it has one method. The constructive side of the Sinn Fein movement is its co-operative principle reared up on the true sense of utility, *viz.*, self-sacrifice for the good of all. The group-idea is working here at its best. Thus in laying stress upon the subconscious side of human nature on one hand and on the other, by emphasising upon the group as the best means to humanise political and economic institutions, the whole Celtic movement is decidedly anti-intellectualist.

The germ of the Slavonic Renaissance was laid long ago by the hand of destiny. From the point of view of culture this Slavonic Revival can be distinguished into three different types, the Russian, the Czecho-Slovakia or the Polish and the Yugo-Slavonia or the Balkan. From the point of view of politics they all represent, in the first place the struggle of a race fighting for its very existence against what Houston Chamberlain calls, the Germanic spirit and in the second place, along with the Celtic and other Eastern movements, an attempt to take stand upon a conception of natural rights which was exploded long ago by Austin and his school. From the point of view of religion they are one, being all under the influence of an Orientalised version of Christianity—the Orthodox Greek Church. Economically, they are still outside the vortex of modern Industrialism—their staple industry being agriculture. In history, they formed the bulwark against Islamic aggression and inherit a dislike of the Turks. The Slavonic civilisation in the Czecho and the Yugo-Slavonic types is more or less a buried treasure to the rest of Europe and the world at large. From a severely intellectual stand-point the Russian genius resembles that dear soul, the Idiot of Dostoeffsky who disarms the intelligent Gania by his naked goodness but whose heart leaps out in sympathy for such incarnations of

uncontrolled passion like Rogojin and Nastasia. The Prince believes in instincts and emotions and distrusts intellect. So does the Slav. The Southern Slav poetry is rich in folk-lore through which the simple emotional nature of the Southern Slav is apparent. The art of Mestrovic in his sculpture of the Temple of Kossovo is an outburst of the long pent-up ambition of a race looking ahead for a Federal State to typify its own simple culture. There is nothing of that dry intellectualism in these national songs and temples which makes the appeal of a decadent style less direct. The national art in its pristine vigour has a quantity of earth in it. It smells of the wet grass and the people know it as their own and have no hesitation in calling it as the true representation of their political aspirations.

Similar is the case with the new Indian movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. It draws its sap, rather seeks to draw it from the pure source of the peasant's heart, and derives its strength from his religious sense, however superstitious it might appear to an intellectual bred upon his Kant and Hegel. Its appeal, to a very great extent economical, goes direct to the feelings and emotions of the simple cultivator of the land, which, apart from the fact of feeding richly the sub-conscious part of human nature, is the source of the staple industry of India. With a deep consistency to the fundamental principles of construction¹ and under the guidance of the thought-current which is passing through the whole world, Mahatma Gandhi seeks to discredit the state as it is, through a movement which is thoroughly anti-intellectual, even to the extent of a distrust of the University people. His destructive power is levelled against the state and his constructive work is in leaving the Indian masses with the yeast of a religious fervour for a primitive simplicity of life as opposed to the artificialities of the present-day civilisation.

¹ Vide Bertrand Russel's *Principles of Reconstruction*, James' *Psychology* and G. H. Well's *Outline of History*.

In both these aspects Mahatma Gandhi is a creature of the Time-Spirit.

The instances we have quoted show the influence of the anti-intellectualist movement. The Celts, the Slavs and the Indians all want to be free, whatever form that condition of freedom might assume. To achieve that end, if warfare is inevitable, the odds are against them. So their anchor-sheet is in the doctrine of Natural Rights; that is just why 'Birth-right' is the stock-phrase of nationalists all over the world. Woodrow Wilson, the *ci-devant* Saviour of civilisation, in his famous note, went against his own text-books to give credentials to such a preposterous claim of subject peoples. His "Self-Determination" and "Rights of Small States" have no sanction in political logic, which renders right a corollary to might, as in Spinoza's treatment of the question, nor are they supported by history which proverbially confounds "what is" with "what should be" in a perpetual attempt to justify the facts or events as they are and uphold the existing order of things. His note undermines the position by defining rights as social and co-related to duties. It will not be too much to say that since the abolition of slavery, Wilson's note was the noblest attempt in recent years to carry out in practice on a wide scale the lessons of a definition that lay cramped and devoid of significance within the pages of books merely. The 'Natural Rights,' as the historical school points out, is nothing anti-social, now we admit it as a compliment to the historian's labour. We also admit that rights exist because of society and that they do not exist independently of duties. But we want to do something more than a mere admission of facts, we aim at a conviction beyond a mere acceptance of theories. "Nature" might as well be post-social, as Aristotle meant in his statement, "man is by nature a social animal." In other words, if by Natural Rights, we mean rights as they would be in a more perfect society working under the principle of mutual aid as opposed

to that of competition in the existing order, the preposterous claim receives the sanction of something deeper than the logic of Austin or the labour of Maine. This new, rather this revival of the Greek concept of Natural Rights founded upon the instinct of possession, the impulse of creation, and the emotions of self-expression and expansion, thus justifies the 'birth-right' assertion of every individual and every conquered nation. It seems that this justification is being gradually recognised. The League of Nations has been installed, not only to kill the abstract notions of indivisible and inalienable sovereignty by the weapon of Federation, but also because the conscience of mankind (not the intellect) could ill afford to ignore the cry of human instincts. That the League is only a '*clique*' is not a fault of the movement but of the alliance of Die-hard nationalists with the abstract theorists of state-sovereignty. Anyhow the influence of the movement is quite clear here as elsewhere.

DHURJATI PRASAD MUKERJEA

From Far and Near

Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea and the League of Nations.

The Calcutta University has just had a handsome compliment paid to it. Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjea, Minto Professor of Economics, has been appointed one of the ten nominated by the Council of the League of Nations to study the question of international intellectual co-operation. Dr. Banerjea was one of the delegates from the Calcutta University to the Congress of the Universities of the Empire held at Oxford last year and along with his colleagues rendered a very good account of himself at that noted assembly and the League's recognition, therefore, has been by no means undeserved. Dr. Banerjea comes of a literary family and finished his education in England and was called to the Bar a few years ago. But he prefers teaching to the drudgery at the Bar. It is interesting to recall that like the late Monomohon Ghose, he sought enrolment at the High Court in *chupkan*—the Oriental Court dress.—(*The I. D. News.*)

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Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea has been the Minto Professor of Economics at the Calcutta University for the last two years. He is the author of two well-known books :—"Indian Economics" and "Public Administration in Ancient India." Both the books have passed through several editions through the Macmillans. We have very great pleasure in congratulating Dr. Banerjea on the very signal honour done to him by the Council of the League of Nations. Dr. Banerjea's appointment is a great tribute to the Bengalee *intelligentia*.—(*The Bengalee.*)

Indigenous System of Medicine.

A Patna message says : With a view to controlling epidemic diseases especially cholera, arrangements have been made for training "kavirajes" (vaid) in preventive measures at the Government Sanitary School at Gulzarbagh from the beginning of April. "Kavirajes" from different parts of the province are coming in batches to avail themselves of this opportunity, and already a number of them have gone through the course of training. The Ministry of Local Self-Government placed at the disposal of the Director of Public Health a sum out of which each "kaviraj" attending

the course of instruction is given his railway fare and a daily allowance to cover his expenses during the training. After having obtained the necessary training, which lasts for a few days on disinfection and other simple duties in connection with the outbreak of epidemic diseases the "kavirajes" receive a certificate from the Superintendent of the School.—(*The Statesman*).

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The Government of Asam being anxious to conserve all that is valuable and suitable to the needs of the country in the indigenous systems of medicine, have decided to award two scholarships, one to a boy from a "kaviraj" family and the other to a boy from Unani family for a course of training at the Berry-White Medical School, Dibrugarh, in the diagnosis of diseases, in order that they may be qualified to treat patients adequately by either system. The value of the scholarships is fixed at Rs. 20 per mensem each and they will be tenable for four years.—(*The Statesman*).

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With a view to encourage the indigenous system of medicine, three-year Ayurvedic scholarships of forty, fifty and sixty rupees per month respectively, have been awarded for the next two years for all students desiring instructions in the Mysore Ayurvedic College, from 1st July.

(*The Bombay Chronicle*).

And what of Bengal ?

Food by Trapping Sunlight.

Trapping the energy of sunlight to make synthetic foodstuffs is one of the most important new aims of scientific research, and the experiments at present going on in this direction are causing the keenest interest in the scientific world.

Formaldehyde is the secret of the process. Carbonic acid and water have been found to combine under the influence of ultra-violet rays to form this substance, which then becomes converted into certain types of sugar. The process is known as photo-synthesis.

What has been done in the laboratory is to carry out the actual life processes of the plant : green colouring matter, chlorophyll, traps the energy of the sun and with its help sets up a chemical action whereby the water and the carbonic acid in the air are combined, and formaldehyde is produced—the raw material from which starch and sugar are formed for the building up of the plant.

By using coloured water containing carbonic acid the scientist has trapped the sunlight just as effectively, and made synthetic formaldehyde as

satisfactorily, as the living plant itself. The fundamental life process has been imitated in the laboratory.

Professor E. C. C. Baly, of Liverpool University, has recently discovered that the ultra-violet rays which produce formaldehyde in his way are waves of light shorter in length than the waves which carry on the process and transform the formaldehyde into sugar; he has adopted the ingenious trick of so colouring the liquid that it is affected only by light of the right kind to produce formaldehyde. In this way no sugar is produced, and pure formaldehyde—a substance of immense use in many industries to-day—can be made synthetically.

The real meaning of this is that by controlling the kind of light that is used the chemist will be able to make what he wants by photo-synthesis, and not make what he does not want. It opens up a new era in chemistry, the manufacture of food-stuffs by artificial means from water and air, the ordinary atmosphere containing carbonic acid as an impurity.—(*The I. D. News.*)

Martyr to Science.

The late Sir Patrick Manson, I am reminded, carried out his pioneer mosquito-malaria investigations while practising as a doctor in China, where, as he once confessed, he “waded through the blood of thousands of Chinamen” before he established the connection. His theory was received with scepticism, but with financial aid from the Government (thanks to the foresight of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, he imported from Italy mosquitoes which had bitten malaria patients. He persuaded two persons—his own son and an assistant at the School of Tropical Medicine—to allow themselves to be bitten. They both contracted malaria. It was these two martyrs to science who built the Panama Canal and made the tropics habitable for the white man.—*Daily News.*

An All-Europe Students' Conference.

We read in the *London Times* that a meeting of the delegates from the International students' organisations of most of the European countries took place at Leipzig in the second week of April last.

“The object of the Conference was to facilitate practical co-operation and intercourse of students throughout Europe. Three delegates were present from the English National Union of Students, and other countries represented were Austria, Bulgaria. Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Estonia,

Finland, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Lettland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey, Chinese students in Germany, Indian students in Europe, and the Indian Relief Commission also sent representatives. The gathering was of a practical character and oratorical flourishes were at a discount. The business covered arrangements for co-operation in relief work, especially for Russian students, exchanges of visits between students in different countries, increased facilities for student travel in vacations, interchange of correspondence and academic information, and general mutual assistance between students. No political discussions were permitted, and any attempts to introduce such questions were ruled out of order."

Judging from the above summary one is inclined to think that the Conference must have been a very useful and successful gathering. It is stated that no political discussions were permitted and any attempts to introduce such questions were ruled out of order. If politics had been introduced, it would probably have made the work of the students' gathering very difficult, if not absolutely impossible. The idea of a Students' Conference is a happy one. We are told that a full report of the Leipzig Conference is being prepared and that copies of the same may be obtained from the offices of the National Union of Students at the Universities and University Colleges of England and Wales, King's College, Strand, London, W. C. 2.—The *New India*.

Reviews

China, the United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, by G. Zay Wood ; The Twenty one Demands, by G. Zay Wood ; The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May 25th, 1915; by G. Zay Wood.—Published by Messrs. Fleming H. Revell Company. Two dollars net each.

The first is complete in itself and the other two are companion volumes. They all treat of the Far Eastern question and the foreign policy of Imperial Japan in particular. The author is of opinion that the Anglo-Japanese alliance should not be renewed, because it has outlived its necessity, it is a menace to the independence of China and it threatens the friendly relations that still exist between Japan and U. S. A. His apprehension is that now that Russia and Germany have been one by one crushed and crippled, in spite of the apparently harmless terms of the alliance it is likely to be used against U. S. A. the only remaining rival of Japan in the East. But Art. IV of the revised alliance should have silenced Mr. Wood's fears. After recounting the interesting history of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Mr. Wood concludes that the covenant of the League of Nations has rendered it absolutely useless. As an American, Mr. Wood should have remembered, that his own country by keeping herself aloof from the League has practically dealt the death blow to it and with Bolshevik Russia and Revolutionary China for her neighbours Japan cannot do without the Alliance. China, it must be admitted, has been very badly treated but it is doubtful whether the U. S. A. would treat her better, the Lansing-Ishii notes have been an eye-opener to many. Japan wants an outlet for her surplus population. The Western States have been systematically opposing their migration and Premier Hughes, an advocate of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance also wants to keep Australia white. The poor Japanese certainly wants some place under the sun and they have therefore by means fair or foul, (mainly foul) wrested some territories, rights and privileges from China. The only remedy for China is to set her house in order and meet force by force. In diplomacy no one expects honesty, all the arguments of Mr. Wood notwithstanding.

The Twenty One Demands furnish another instance of the shameless and selfish imperialism of westernised Japan and these notorious demands led to the conclusion of the China-Japanese Treaties of 1915. After carefully analysing the nature of these demands Mr. Wood concludes that the treaty is null and void *ab initio* for "(1) lack of legislative sanction, (2) vital change of circumstances under which they were entered into, (3) disappearance of one of their objects, (4) conflict with the existing treaties, (5) violation of the open door principle, (6) inconsistency with the covenant of the League of Nations and (7) incompatibility with China's sovereignty and her right of self-preservation and self-development." The

Twenty One demands and the manner of their enforcement have been very strongly condemned by some prominent Japanese like Prof. Hayashi and Mr. Kei Hara. But inspite of Mr. Wood's able pleading it is difficult to agree that the treaty or treaties of 1915 was or were void *abinitio* from the point of view of International Law. International jurists have differed and will continue to differ on the point, the case in question is so peculiar and complicated. Mr. Wood pleads duress as a ground of abrogation last because it is his weakest ground. Duress of this form is not recognised in International Law and Senator Robinson, a countryman of Mr. Wood's, has rightly remarked—"If we go back into history and invalidate every treaty into which duress has entered, chaos in international relations will result. Every right thinking man will, however, condemn the policy and the procedure of Japan whatever may be their legal merit."

Finally Mr. Wood accuses Japan of Prussianism and we are afraid U. S. A. will have to bear her share of the blame. It was she who compelled Japan against her wish to throw her doors open and to grant extra-territorial rights to western nations. No wonder she has taken the lesson to her heart and is now bullying her less powerful eastern neighbours.

Mr. Wood has naturally presented only one side of the shield but all students of Far Eastern politics will find his volumes extremely useful. The appendices give the text of the treaties and diplomatic notes otherwise not easily available to the ordinary reader. Mr. Wood's simple style and charming exposition have made his volumes exceedingly readable, and we enjoyed them very much although we have not always been able to see eye to eye with him.

S. N. S.

Higher Sanskrit Grammar and Composition ; by Pandit Upendra-nath Vidyabhushan, B.A., M.R.A.S., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, City College Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

In these days when the market is flooded with books which encourage cramming, to a horrible extent it is refreshing to come across this volume of Prof. Vidyabhushan who makes an attempt "to meet the requirements of genuine students of Sanskrit by bringing out an edition of Sanskrit Grammar dealing specially with composition through the medium of Panini's *sutras* with their English renderings and copious examples from standard classical writers omitting everything that has no bearing on the subject and incorporating the elementary principles of Rhetoric and Prosody." (Author's Preface p. ii). And Prof. Vidyabhushan has been eminently successful in his attempt. His long experience as a teacher of Sanskrit has enabled him to spot with an unerring hand the difficulties which confront even advanced students of Sanskrit and he has explained these difficulties with a clearness and lucidity which reflects great credit on his scholarship. Following in the foot-steps of the immortal author of the *Bhatti-kavya*, he has, unlike modern writers of Sanskrit Grammar and Composition dealt in a masterly manner with those portions of Rhetoric

which no serious student of Grammar can afford to neglect. The chapter on *Proyoga* (প্রয়োগ) is a special feature of the work and will be of the great service to the advanced students of our colleges. Another special feature is the list of roots with different prepositions which greatly adds to the value and usefulness of the book and one cannot but wish that the list were more exhaustive. Although all the well-known works on Grammar and Rhetoric have been laid under contribution the stamp of the author's hand and clear intellect is visible on every page. Coming from the hands of a Professor of Sanskrit of more than a quarter of a century's teaching experience the book is intensely practical—we shall be glad to see it in the hands of all college students who take up Sanskrit. There are, however, in this valuable work, certain minor defects (especially typographical errors) which, we trust, will be removed in the next edition. The absence of an exhaustive index will also be keenly felt.

DEVA SARMA

To India: the Message of the Himalayas: By Paul Richards.
(Ganesh & Co., Madras).

An attractive little book, a great subject, a true seer to see the vision "far as human eye could see," and a great writer to put down in exquisite language the message of the vision. There is no jingling of rhymes, there are no shackles of metre. Each thought as it is bodied forth in the poet's vision forms one "verse." The book thrills the reader from cover to cover, it is vibrant with the melody of the coming Dawn. Upon the earth there is to-day lying dark and lowering the thunder cloud of conflicting hopes and ideas. But beyond the clouds, through occasional rifts in them, the poet, the prophet, the visionary catches a glimpse of the rosy Dawn flashing in the East—that "ancient maiden, ever-young." The hum of the awakening new life is already in the air. Those who have ears to hear have heard it. Paul Richards is one of those who have seen the rosy flush and have heard the music of awakening life. He is one of a chosen company. We are too close to the earth either to see or to hear, but if in a calm moment we look and listen we shall also see the glory and hear the melody

BOOKWORM.

A Peep into the Early History of India; by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph. D., &c. &c. With a preface by H. G. Rawlinson (D. B. Tarporewalla Sons & Co. Bombay).

This is a lecture read at Poona in March, 1910 amplified largely. The name of the writer is enough guarantee that the contents are perfectly up-to-date (till 1910) and critically presented. To venture to criticise the great Bhandarkar is not the task for an almost unknown person: but one matter

may be pointed out. In the very first page he says, "India ... has no written history" and speaks of the Purāṇas in a somewhat disparaging fashion with which the "reviewer" cannot quite agree. We have as far not gathered much information from the Purāṇas merely because our scholars have never tried to get anything out of them. There has been a fashionable superstition among the orientalisists (both Western and Indian) to consider these works unhistorical and uncritical. A veritable mine of sound history and ethnography and kindred knowledge lies buried in these voluminous works. Years of patient labour by a hand of devoted scholars collaborating in the closest fashion would surely yield an excessively rich treasure.

But to return to our work. This little book is a fine performance notable alike for its brevity and the extent of the time it covers. The period covered is from the Mauryas to the close of the Gupta Empire. The revival of Brāhmaṇa and Sanskritic supremacy after several centuries of Buddhist and Prakritic ascendancy is brought out and explained as only a master can. In every way worthy of the great and revered name of the author, this essay may be considered the ripened fruit of his life-long work. As a small book of reference its usefulness might have been enhanced by an index and another sad defect (which we hope will be corrected in the next edition) is due to the sins of omission (mostly) of the "printer's devil." Of course from 1910 to 1922 a good deal of new material has come in and we hope it will be incorporated in the next addition.

POST-GRADUATE.

Prince Edward's Speeches in India (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras), Price Re. 1.

This is the latest of Mr. Nateson's political books, uniform with the volume containing the speeches of his gracious father, H. I. M. the King-Emperor. The difference between the two collections is just what one would expect to exist between father and son. Still one sees the promise of the Prince blossoming forth as a man as great and good-hearted as his father and as well-beloved as his grandfather the Peacemaker. His experience is small but his heart is in the right place and time shall show that he will be a true friend of our land.

I. J. S. T.

TEACHERS OF H. E. SCHOOLS—THEIR PAY AND PROSPECTS

DEAR SIR,

I am very thankful to you for your kindly placing my humble paper before the Syndicate. We fully understand the difficulty of the University in helping us, but the kind expression of sympathy which we have been able to secure through you will, I am sure, go a great way in drawing the attention of the public and the conditions under which we have to work in the Private Schools at the present moment. We, therefore, beg to request to kindly publish, if possible, the paper in the *Calcutta Review*, so that the sympathy which the University so kindly feel for us in our present situation may be widely known.

Yours truly,

BEPINBEHARY BANERJI

"There are 816 High Schools for males in Bengal. Of this 44 are under the management of Government, and 802 under private managements. Of the latter 277 are aided and 525 unaided. The scale of pay of the teachers in the privately managed schools, whether aided or unaided, is stated in the fourth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1897-98 to 1901-02) as follows: "In privately managed schools the salary scale ranges from Rs. 5 to Rs. 78,"—in other words, there are teachers in the schools under private management who do not earn even one-third of the wages of a coolie!

This was in 1902. Let us see how it fared in the course of ten years that followed. And this time we shall quote from a resolution on Indian Educational Policy issued by the Governor-General in Council in February, 1913. In this Resolution it is stated that a "special enquiry showed that out of some 4,700 teachers in privately managed High Schools about 4,200 were in receipt of less than Rs. 50/- a month, 3,300 of less than Rs. 30/- a month while many teachers of English and Classical languages drew salaries that would not attract men to superior domestic service."

This is in short the sad lot of the teachers in the High Schools under private management. Let us now turn our eyes for a moment to schools under the direct management of Government, i. e., schools that are financed mainly with the Provincial Revenues.

Here the prospect is most edifying and the contrast between the two kinds of the same class of schools—following the same standard and teaching the same subjects—is all but ridiculous. In these schools, Government have recently improved the status of the Head Masters by promoting all of them to the Provincial Educational Service and have enhanced the pay of all English-knowing teachers to Rs. 50/-, even if the teacher be a

Matriculate just manufactured by the University. Under this arrangement the Head Masters of Zilla Schools are, therefore, in receipt of Rs. 250/- per month or more. Not only this : they are, as a rule, in enjoyment of free quarters, and lastly, all the teachers in Government Service have before them the prospect of pensions in their old age.

* * * *

These are the two pictures of the same school-life in Bengal. Looking at them both, the question that naturally suggests itself is "why is this distinction made? Do the Government deliberately intend to fondle the one and kick the other? Is it a part of their policy that the interests, of the many are to be sacrificed to those of the few? Are the Provincial Revenues to be spent to fatten 44 schools and to starve 80?"

From the above it should not be surmised that we propose to bring the recently enhanced scale of pay of the teachers in Government service down to the level where it was. Far from it. What we, on the other hand, intend to urge on the attention of Government is that they should act up to their—professions. In that very Resolution issued by the Governor-General in Council from which we have quoted, it is stated that "the policy of Government is to improve the existing few Government schools by introducing a graded service for teachers of English with a minimum salary of Rs. 40/- per month, and maximum salary of Rs. 400/- per month side by side, or just below the above, it is also stated that the policy of Government is to increase largely grants-in-aid, in order that the aided institutions may keep pace with the improvements in Government Schools on the above-mentioned lines and to encourage the establishment of new aided institutions where necessary." Now what we mean to say on the above is this that the Government have already fulfilled the one, but have nothing as yet to act up to the other. And what is more and what we are very anxious about is that Government may be handicapped from redressing the outstanding pledge in view of the retrenchment that is to be effected to keep the whole machinery a-going.

If the thing comes to such a pass and if the pledges given by Government, with regard to the privately managed schools, are adhered to, while those about Government schools, are not only given effect to, but better conditions than those proposed in the Resolution have since been made to prevail, then we must say that such invidious distinction will not add to the reputation of the Government, nor will it be expedient.

The number of pupils taught in the schools under Government management is about 14½ thousands, and the teachers a little over 700. While the corresponding number in the privately managed schools are nearly 2½ lacs and 11 thousands respectively. Do the Government think that the rank growth that they may notice in the High Schools of the present day can be successfully weeded out by making 700 men contented at the expense of 11 thousands? Or, is any harmonious growth of the Educational system, as a whole, possible if the Government be a party to create heart-burning among equally qualified teachers teaching the same syllabus and, in many cases, living in the same locality, nay, even in the same house?

And what can be the Government's reason for creating such a split in the same camp? Are the Government Schools model institutions, and are

they, therefore, entitled to loaves and fishes, and the privately managed schools not even to the crumbs of the Provincial Revenues? The Government and their proteges, the teachers of the Government schools, may think so. But the University Commission of 1917-19, which made a sifting enquiry into the educational institutions of Bengal, seem to hold a different view. They reserved their high encomiums for some of the privately managed institutions and with the solitary exception of the Bankura Zila School did not refer to any Government schools save for adverse criticisms (*vide* Cal. Uni. Report, Vol. 1, Chap. VII, Sec. V). In their report the Commission, after describing the excellence of some of the privately managed institutions, such as Mitra, South Suburban, Oriental Academy, etc., proceed to draw a contrast between the Hindoo School and the L.M.S. Institution of Bhowanipur in the following terms:—"Yet within four miles of the Hindoo school may be seen proof of the value of science teaching in the Education of Indian boys. At the school which is attached to the London Missionary Society's Institution at Bhowanipur * * * we had an opportunity of inspecting the teaching of science given by the Head Master * * * He begins with nature study in the lower classes. From 12 to 15 years of age the boys learn Physical Geography, Physical Measurements, Physics, Chemistry and Mechanics. * * * He finds the pupils responsive to science teaching" (*vide* Cal. Uni. Rpt., Vol. 1, pp. 222-3). And this is in contrast with the teaching imparted in the Hindu School, which is universally recognised as the premier institution under the control and management of Government of Bengal.

The Commission have not stopped here, but have gone further and bestowed still higher encomiums on two other privately managed schools, *viz.*, the Santiniketan at Bolepur and the Boy's Own Home in Calcutta which they characterise as "two schools of exceptional merit, which (if such influence as theirs should extend widely through the Presidency) would encourage sanguine hopes for the future Secondary Education in Bengal." (Uni. Com. Rpt., p. 226, Vol. I.).

So the Commission hold that instead of Government Schools being the model for privately managed schools there are some privately managed schools in the province which the Government schools would do well to imitate and follow.

Instances of such authoritative pronouncement might be multiplied, but we must be content with one more quotation and this time from the practical side of education imparted in our High English Schools.

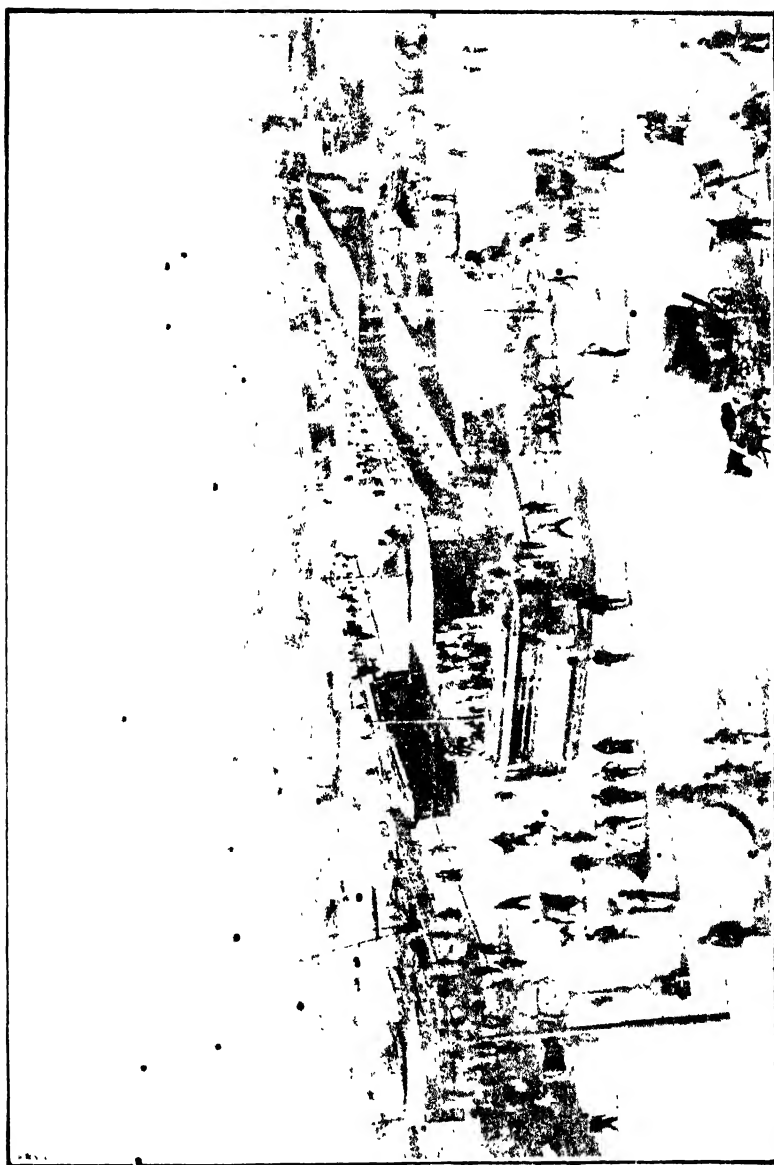
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his capacity as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has, in summing up the proceedings of the Conference recently held in the Senate for the purpose of introducing vocational training in High Schools mentioned only five institutions—all under private control and management the practical side of whose work appeared to me to be quite satisfactory. These institutions are the Polytechnic Institute, financed by the Hon'ble Maharaja of Cossimbazar, two institutions,—one at Allahabad and one at Benares, and the Jorhat and Pangsa High English Schools. (*Vide* Proceedings of the Conference of the Managing Committees, pp. 54-5, 57, 79-80.)

So looked at from the practical as well as from the theoretical standpoint the institutions under Government management are not found by eminent

authorities to be on a par with many institutions under private management. Again, if the results of public Examinations be a test of efficiency, the success of the privileged class of schools does not point to, as may be seen from the published results of any year, any decided superiority over many of the schools which are left in the lurch by the Government.

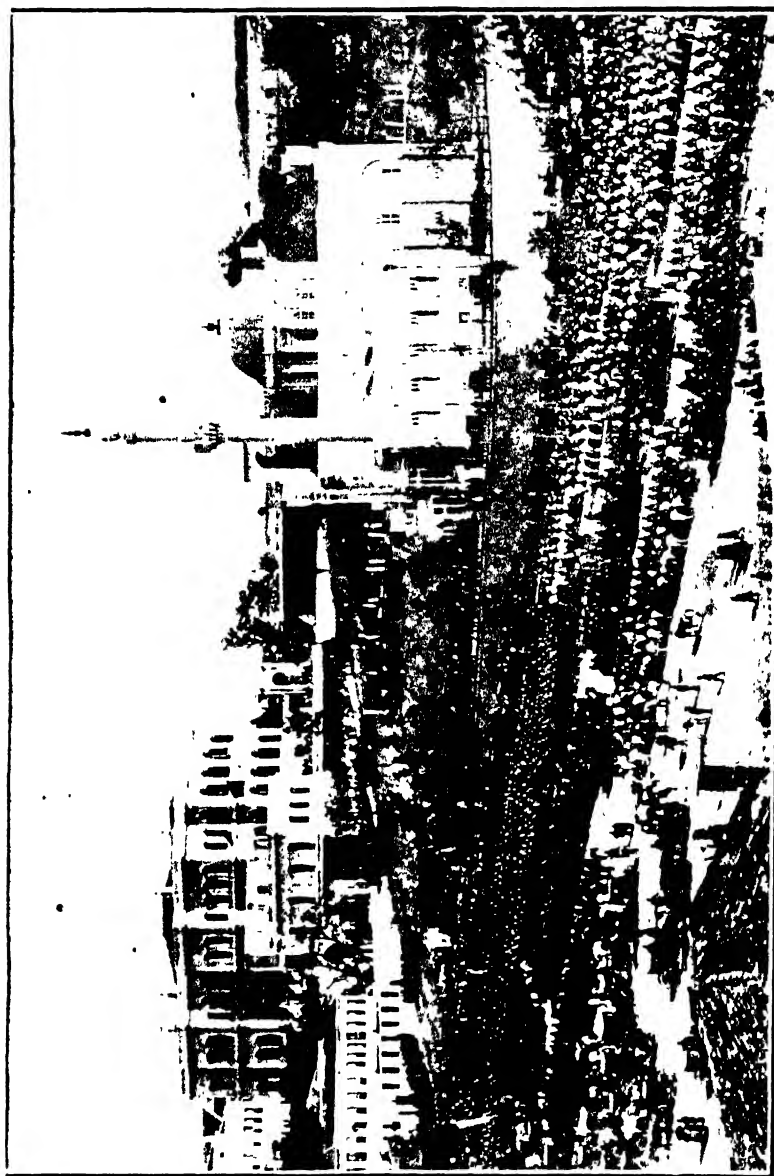
We do not hold any brief for the private schools. We frankly admit that there are schools under private management which are worse than the worst schools under Government management. But we must at the same time say that their failure to come up to the required standard of efficiency is not due to an inherent defect in the institutions themselves but a lamentable lack of encouragement and support from Government. Many teachers in the privately managed schools are very hard workers—they cannot but be so. For, on the quality of their work rests the tenure of their services in the school. While the “ancient solitary reign” of their fellow-workers in the other class of schools is in no fear of being “molested” even by the most “wandering” and erratic master. A bad worker in Government schools may at best be transferred, but a bad worker in a private school may lose his job. So necessity, if not anything else, compels him to put more zest into his work than his brother in the other schools. To do this on pay which is often less than the wages of a coolie, and to show equally good, if not in some cases better, results, bespeaks a faithfulness which should be rewarded by Government by allowing them to have their proper share of the Provincial Revenues—to which on account of their merit as well as numerical strength they have no less claim than their fellow-workers in the Government schools. If the Government do not recognise their claims, now that the claims of the sister institutions have been considered, the Government may, we think, be justly accused of flagrant breach of faith and a deliberate intention to create a privileged class in education. The root cause of the widespread discontent and disruption that is noticeable in the present-day school life of Bengal may be differently diagnosed by different persons, but that low pay, disappointment, and above all, the special favour shown to a certain class have, to a great extent, lent colour to it, cannot be doubted.”

IN AND AROUND CONSTANTINOPLE



The Bosphorus Bridge

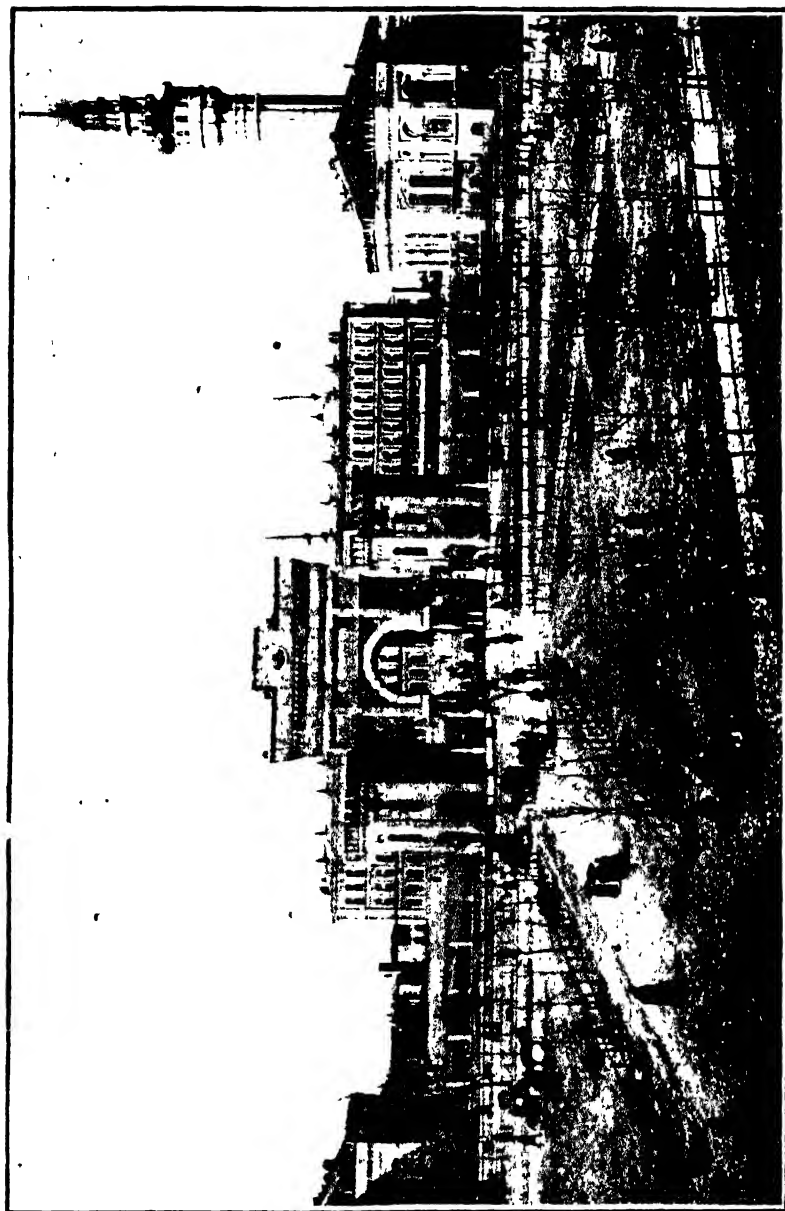
The Bosphorus Bridge

*(The Lock-up)*

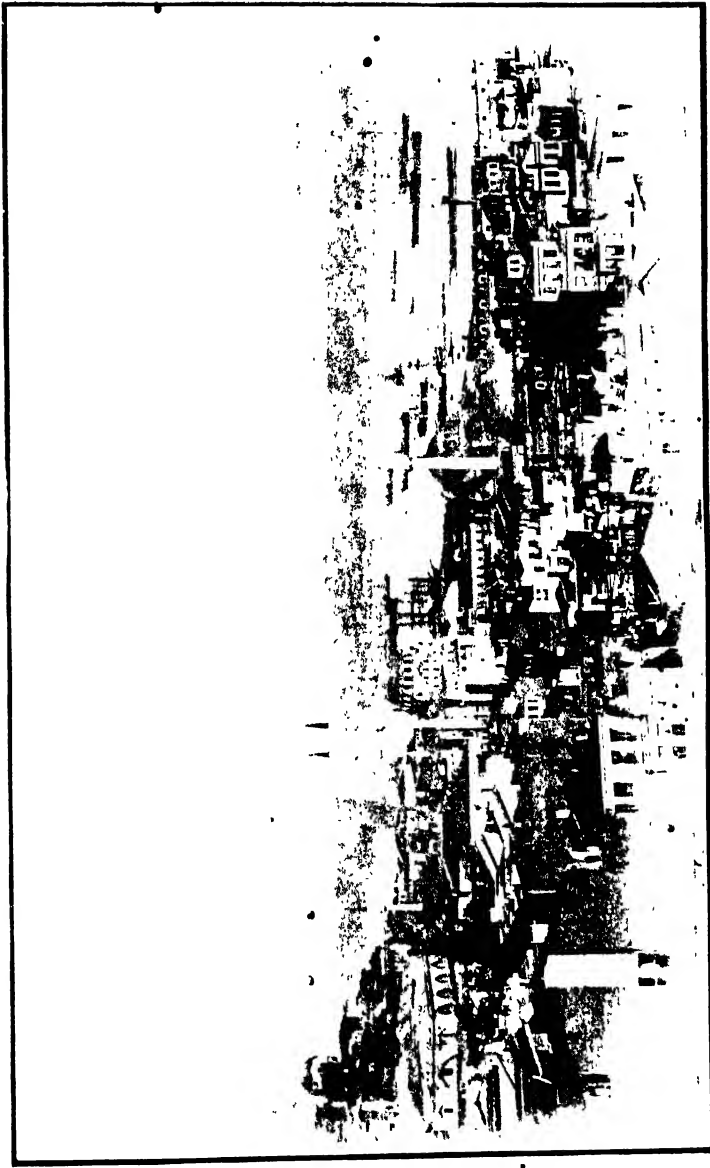
The Sunday morning when the soldiers were in the streets.

*(The Lion's Den)*

The Mosque of Süleyman the Magnificent, built in 1550.



The Turkish War Memorial in Calcutta. On the right is the well-known Tower from which, on a clear day, the city of Calcutta can be seen.



(The Lookout)

A View of Pera Harbor, the Bosphorus and Scutari.



The Island

The Black Sea from the Bosphorus

Ourselfes

Our readers will be interested to read the following appreciation of development of University Work in Calcutta, from Sir Dinshaw Wacha whom no one will venture to place in the category of interested witnesses.

“JIJI HOUSE

RAVELIN STREET,

Bombay, 29th April, 1922.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

Only this morning I received a copy of the last Convocation Address of your late distinguished and accomplished Governor and that of your own. I read the latter at one stretch, for from the very first I was fascinated not only by the charm, elegance and simplicity of your style, but by the wide thoughts you put therein with a wealth of knowledge and experience of what a University education should be. To tell the truth I was exceedingly impressed by the interesting account you gave of the evolution of the Calcutta University from a mere examining authority to a body of great savants in all modern branches of human knowledge, keenly desirous of converting into a Temple of Higher Learning and Research. The monumental work you have achieved during your unprecedented Vice-Chancellorship, so brimful of the highest utility, will make your name ever memorable in the annals of Indian Universities. By dint of perseverance and patience, combined with your broad-mindedness and wonderful liberality of thought and imagination, you have raised the Calcutta University to a high pedestal indeed—a model for all other presidential universities to follow. Every page gives evidence of your great scholarship and breadth of mind. You have crystallized your ideas of what a model Indian

University like that of Calcutta should be. I am sure those ideas will germinate yielding a rich fruit in days to come. You are the great Indian University Reformer, no mistake. I write all this without any fear of flattery or eulogistic extravagance. I was irresistibly prompted to write this no sooner than I finished the last word of your last sentence. To use the Horatian lines, you have reared a monument of your own more durable than brass and the kingly pyramids of Egypt. Sincerely wishing that by the grace of Divine Providence you may long be spared to preside over the destinies of your great *alma mater* and increase its utility a hundredfold in various directions, binding fresh laurels to your brow already adorned,

I am yours sincerely,

D. E. WACHA.

P. S.—I wish this address will be printed in the different vernaculars of the country by *lakhs*."

* * * * *

During the progress of the recent final M.B. Examinations, an alarming statement was published in the papers to the effect that a candidate for Medical Jurisprudence had died of plague contracted during a *post mortem* examination which he was asked to conduct on the body of a person who had died of plague. The matter was promptly taken up by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate and a Committee consisting of Lieut.-Col. Barnardo, Principal of the Medical College, Dr. B. C. Ray, one of the members of the Governing Body of the Carmichael Medical College and Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy was appointed to investigate and report upon the matter. The report of the Committee was subsequently approved by the Syndicate, and what followed could appear from the following extract from the minutes of the Syndicate, dated 5th May, 1922.

Dated Calcutta May 5th, 1922.

FROM

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION,

TO

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,
Calcutta University.

SIR,

In accordance with the resolution passed by the Syndicate on the 28th April, 1922, the Committee as appointed by them have enquired into the circumstances of the death of the student Jnanendra Sarkar as noted in the *Indian Daily News* of the 28th ultimo.

They have interviewed carefully the Examiners and the Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital and as a result of these investigations, they are of opinion that the report of the occurrence as noted in the newspaper is mis-informed and the conclusions drawn therefrom are incorrect.

The facts in connection with the case are as follows :—

1. The Student referred to, *viz.*, Jnanendra Sarkar, *did* die on the 25th morning from an infection of plague with enlarged glands in his left armpit.

2. He *was* in contact with a body during the Examination for the University Examination, M.B., in Medical Jurisprudence, Part II, on the 19th morning, and the statement has been made that during that examination he sustained an accidental cut on his left finger.

(a) He informed his fellow boarders on the 22nd morning that he had enlarged glands in the axilla and fever. The glands were small and fever slight; so the Superintendent of the Hostel considering that the trouble being one of septic infection, from the cut in the finger, took the usual steps necessary in such cases. The temperature rose and the glands increased in size during the next two days. On the 24th, one of the visiting Physicians of the Carmichael College saw the student and a blood examination was made. No Plague bacilli were found. On the 25th morning the patient took a bad turn and died at 1 A.M. An examination of fluid from the glands showed the plague bacilli. The student in question was examined in Medical Jurisprudence, Part II, on the 19th April. The body which was the subject of examination was that of an unknown person furnished by the Police, cause of death being enlarged kidney, liver and heart, and was not a "pathological" one received from the Campbell Hospital.

(b) Dr. Roy reports that two of the Carmichael College Students, Jaga Nath Sen Gupta and Dyarka Nath Dutt, were fellow Examinees on the same body as the late Jnanendra Sarkar and their statement is that the body on which they and the deceased were examined had a large kidney weighing 12 oz. and an enlarged liver and heart and with petechial hæmorrhages over the pericardium. All the evidence points to the conclusion that this case was clearly not one of Plague.

(c) All the Examiners assure us that whenever any complaint has been made by any student, during the course of the examination, of any accidental wound during the necessary manipulations, they themselves carefully superintend the cleansing of the wound, and any further chance of infection is prevented by the immediate removal of the Examinee from the vicinity of that or any other body.

3. No complaint of accidental injury cut during the examination was made to the Examiners by the Student Jnanendra Sarkar.

The Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital assures us that no case suffering from Plague or Small Pox is ever allowed to leave the Campbell as subjects for examinations. From an inspection of the register, the Head Clerk instructs the head *dom* as to which of the unclaimed bodies may be taken, and all such "pathological" bodies are injected with arsenic and formalin, so as to preclude any possibility of infection to those handling them. In any case, where the diagnosis of the cause of death is uncertain, a 'post mortem' is always held there in the Hospital before allowing the body to be sent away.

The Committee are of opinion that :—

"The infection of plague sustained by the deceased student Jnanendra Sarkar was not contracted during the examination in Medical Jurisprudence and that all reasonable precautions are taken to guard against possible infection,

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servants,

F. A. F. BARNARDO

BIDHANCHANDRA RAY

HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

RESOLVED—

That the report be adopted and that copies of it be sent to the chief daily papers for publication."

91. Read the following note by the Committee, appointed to report on the case of Jnanendranath Sarkar, deceased :—

"The Committee have on the report kept themselves strictly to the subject under reference, but they feel that this is a suitable opportunity to bring to notice the procedure by which the provision of bodies (subjects) for the University Examinations in Anatomy, Surgery, Medical Jurisprudence, etc., is arranged.

At present, the onus of provision is borne by the Examiners themselves, each group in the subject concerned. Whenever there is a deficiency in bodies the Superintendent of the Campbell Hospital is appealed to and he comes to the rescue with whatever material he may chance to have available at the moment, sending suitable unclaimed bodies previously disinfected so as to avoid the risk of infection. This procedure is obviously unfair to the Examiners concerned and it would be advisable that the whole arrangement for the provision of all body subjects for University Examinations should be controlled and unified by the Faculty of Medicine itself, the Dean being responsible for such smoothness and efficiency as will preclude the possibility of public criticisms of such a nature as the one before us

Further, under the present procedure, of separate arrangements for each examination there must necessarily be a great waste of material, whereas under a unified control there will be undoubted saving as a subject may be utilized on more than one occasion if necessary.

The centralization of control will lead to efficiency and economy without doubt but to secure smoothness it may mean a little expense.

F. A. F. BARNARDO

B. C. RAY

HASSAN SUHRAWARDY."

RESOLVED—

That the report be approved and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine be requested to make the necessary arrangements.

The Syndicate, no doubt, acted wisely in promptly directing an enquiry and publishing the result. There can be little doubt as to the existence of a band of patriots whose one object is to bring the University into discredit and the only means to baffle them is to ascertain and publish the truth whenever practicable at the earliest possible moment. An instance is furnished by what follows. Immediately after the conclusion of the Matriculation Examination, a rumour was started that the question in some subject at any rate, had leaked out and had been known to some of the candidates. It is impossible to test the truth of an assertion like this made after the event is over but the people who had started this game to tarnish the reputation of the University were soon caught in their own trap. They ventured upon a bold statement just before the

commencement of the Intermediate and the Degree Examinations that the questions had all leaked out and that as a matter of fact, were on sale, in the market. The Controller of Examinations, lost no time in testing the truth of these allegations and it was ascertained that the question which had been circulated had no resemblance to the questions which had been set. Examinees who had spent their money in the purchase of the bogus questions were deservedly disappointed but the object of the gentlemen who were engaged in this trade were not merely to make money but also to bring the University into disrepute. This was plain from the tone and contents of the anonymous and pseudonymous letters which flooded the papers.

* * * *

Babu Chandra Kumar De who was appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts to collect Bengali manuscripts on behalf of the University has furnished Dr. Dines Chandra Sen, our Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow, with the manuscripts of the following poems and ballads in the course of a little less than ten months. We have pleasure in publishing the following account made over to us by Dr. Sen :

	Pages.
" 1. Kajir Bichar or Chand Binoder Kahini	106
2. Lilar Baramashi	63
3. Kamalar Baramashi	71
4. Mahua Part I	20
5. Do " II	37
6. The Story of Dewan Mahamod Ali	32
7. The Story of Feroz Khan Dewan	70
8. Vidya Sundar by Kavi Kanka, (15th century)	84
9. Ramayana by the poetess Chandravati, Do	47
10. Gopini Kirtan by the poetess Sula Gayen	49
11. Adhua Sundari	45
12. Stray leaves containing Radha Krishna and Yatra songs	50
13. The Story of Dewan Isha-Kha	75
14. Alal Dulaler Pala	83

But the quality of the poems is not to be judged by quantity. The manuscripts, all of them, have been brought to our notice for the first time—Mymensing is a place where the Brahminic Renaissance could produce little impression. There is no *Kulinism* amongst the people of the soil. The ballads and songs disclose a state of society which existed in the Buddhist age, and was not influenced at all by Brahminism. Rural poetry, untrammelled by scriptural ideas, strikes us as exceedingly charming. Most of these songs will occupy a high place in our literature from the point of poetic excellence. The atmosphere of these poems is one of freedom from orthodoxy and is strikingly transparent, showing a contrast with the complications and artificiality of Brahmanic canons which are obvious in the poetry of Bengal proper of those days.

As Brahmanic influence in that part of country was not great, the language of these songs is far from being Sanskritized. There is a fair amount of Persian element in them, as the rural population of the district consists of a large number of Mahomedans. These songs have not proceeded from propagandism of any sort and shew the very heart of popular poetry with all its intense emotion, its simple ideas of life and simpler codes of ethics. The language is more akin to Prakrit than to Sanskrit—a point which will no doubt interest the Philologists.

These Songs and ballads in some places give us true pictures of social history as it was known to the people as opposed to what is found in official records. We find in them how justice was dispensed by the rulers of the land as also some vivid and life-like sketches of Mahomedan worthies.

In fact from literary, philological and historical points of view, this collection seems to me to be invaluable. These songs are sung by the professional rhapsodists and minstrels of the country-side. The calling has been pursued from father to son from a remote age and this poetical treasure is the heritage of a particular class of men who preserve it scrupulously and would not allow outsiders to have any portion of it. Babu Chandra Kumar inspired by a true and burning love for the rural poetry of this district has obtained scraps from stray singers living in remote localities and has thus been able to recover a whole poem. With the materials already collected a new and important chapter of our literature will have to be written."

* * * * *

In the course of an address delivered by Viscount Haldane in London, in July 1921 on "the Ideals of a University and

the Doctrine of Relativity" the Viscount spoke of Prof. Radhakrishnan's work as follows :—

I was reading the other day a book by a Professor of Philosophy in the University of Mysore, Dr. Radhakrishnan. It is written in beautiful English and shows that this Professor in India has as great a command of Western thought as he has of Eastern thought, and I was particularly struck by what he wrote in that book dealing with the influence of philosophy and religion, and by what he brought out as taught in the Vedas. He dwelt most on the Upanishads, a part of the Brahmanic teaching which falls within the Vedas and deals most distinctively with what one might call the philosophical conception of Hinduism. And there was the doctrine of Relativity, not of Einstein but very much as Kant had it, staring you in the face. In Aristotle also you find Relativity. That impressed me very much, and I suspect that if we studied the philosophical systems of the East with as much intelligence as we do those of the West, we should find that they differed very much less than we think, and had common foundations which would give identity of outlook of great value.

And a particular journal in Calcutta, noted for its omission, tells us that the Professor's appointment is an instance of jobbery !

